



THE  
**PROCEEDINGS**  
OF THE  
**Pakistan History Conference**

(SECOND SESSION)

HELD AT  
**LAHORE**

*under the auspices of the*

**Pakistan Historical Society**

**1952**

*Compiled by*

**DR. S. MOINUL HAQ**

**KARACHI**



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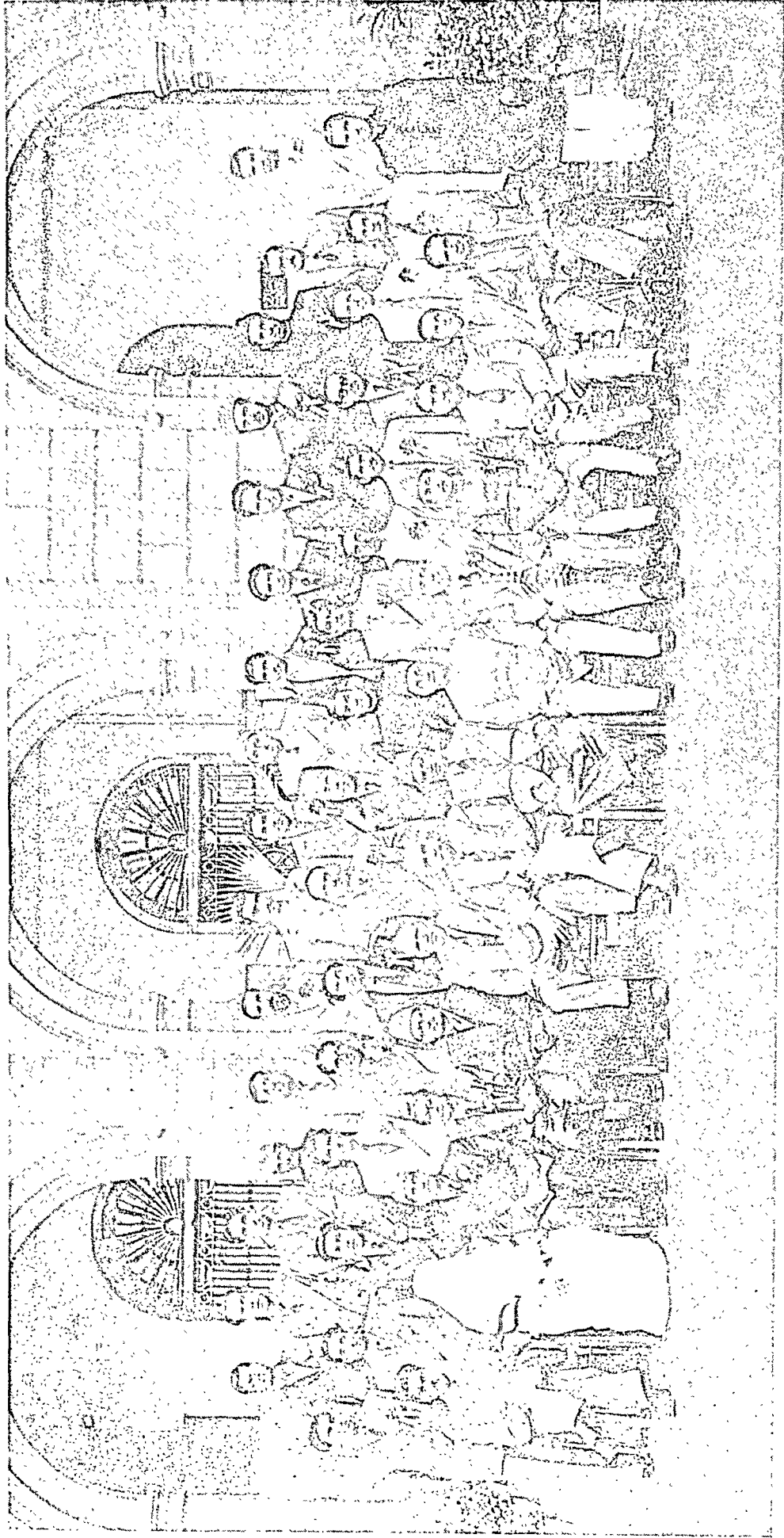
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— SECOND —  
**ALL PAKISTAN HISTORY CONFERENCE**  
LAHORE, 1952





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## PREFACE

For certain unavoidable reasons the Proceedings of the second session of the All Pakistan History Conference went to the press rather late and therefore could not be published in time to be distributed before the third session. The number of papers presented at this session was not more than those of the previous ones, but some of the most well-known scholars of the sub-continent attended the Conference and presented the results of their researches. This shows that the Society is gaining in popularity and its utility is being realized by the educated people in the country, particularly those who are interested in the study of history. We are greatly encouraged by this and have reasons to hope that in the near future the Pakistan Historical Society would attain a prominent position in the literary circles of the country.

The unabated and personal interest of our President, Hon'ble Mr. Fazlur Rahman, in the cause of the Society has been a source of great strength to all of us. But for his support it would have been difficult for the Society to bring out its *Journal* and publish the Proceedings of the Conference. Hon'ble Dr. Mahmud Husain has all along taken an active interest in the affairs of the Society. Whenever I sought his help, he gave it unhesitatingly.

On behalf of the Pakistan Historical Society I thank the Vice-Chancellor and members of the Executive Council of the Punjab University for inviting the Society to hold the second session in Lahore and members of the Reception Committee and its Chairman, Hon'ble Dr. Khalifah Shujauddin, for the excellent arrangements of the session.

Our thanks are also due to Hon'ble Mr. Fazlur Rahman, Professor Mohammad Shafi, Dr. Mahmud Husain and Professor Dilawar Hussain for presiding over the Conference and its various sections and Dr. Inayatullah, Mr. M. H. Siddiqi and Professor Namdar Khan for acting as sectional Secretaries.

In the end I have to thank those members of the Society who have helped me in getting the Proceedings printed in a very limited period, particularly Messrs. Qamaruddin Khan, Shuja Ahmad Zeba, and Abdul



Qayyum of the Urdu College and Mr. Yusuf Abbas Hashmi of the Islamia College, Karachi, who were good enough to see the proofs.

It will not be out of place here if I request all those who are interested in the study of history to help the Pakistan Historical Society by purchasing its publications and subscribing for its *Journal*.

S. MOINUL HAQ.

# SECOND ALL PAKISTAN HISTORY CONFERENCE, LAHORE 1952.

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## APPENDIX A

خطبہ استقبالیہ

از

آئربیل ڈاکٹر خلیفہ شجاع الدین

ایم اے، ایل - ایل - ڈی

یور ایکسیلنسی، آئربیل مسٹر فضل الرحمن، مندوبین کانفرنس،

خواتین و حضرات!

مجلس استقبالیہ کے صدر کی حیثیت سے میرا خوش آئند فرض ہے کہ میں ہز ایکسیلنسی گورنر صاحب کی اس عنایت کا شکریہ ادا کروں کہ انہوں نے ہماری درخواست کو شرف قبول بخش کر اس کانفرنس کا افتتاح منظور فرمایا۔ اسی طرح میں نہایت مسرت کے ساتھ آن تمام مندوبین اور مہمانوں کو خوش آمدید کہتا ہوں جنہوں نے کل پاکستان ہسٹری کانفرنس کے اس اجلاس میں شرکت کے لئے بہ کمال مہربانی قدم رنجہ فرمایا۔ میں خاص طور پر کانفرنس کے صدر آئربیل مسٹر فضل الرحمن کا ہر خلوص خیر مقدم کرتا ہوں جنہوں نے اپنے گونا گوں منصبی فرائض کے باوجود اپنے اوقات گرامی میں سے اس تقریب کے لئے فرصت نکالی، نیز آن ارباب علم و فضل اور ممتاز مورخین کا دلی شکریہ ادا کرتا ہوں جو ہماری دعوت کو قبول فرماتے ہوئے طویل مسافتیں طے کر کے اپنے نتائج تحقیق اس کانفرنس کے سامنے پیش کرنے کو تشریف لائے ہیں۔

زمانہ گزشتہ میں برعظیم پاکستان و ہند کی تاریخ کو بالعموم اور تاریخ اسلام کو بالخصوص ایسے مصنفین نے شدید نقصان پہنچایا ہے جنہیں ہماری قوم سے کوئی ہمدردی نہ تھی بلکہ جو بعض صورتوں میں صریحاً ہمارے مخالف تھے۔ نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ عرصہ دراز تک طلبہ کو ایسا مواد پیش کیا جاتا رہا جسے تاریخ کا نام دینا خود اس لفظ کی توہین تھی۔ اس نام نہاد تاریخ میں عمداً واقعات کی تحریف کی جاتی تھی۔ اور مدعا یہ تھا کہ طبیعتوں میں اسلام اور مسلمانوں کے خلاف ایک تعصب پیدا ہو۔ بارہا اس حربہ کا استعمال ہمارے خلاف کامیابی سے کیا گیا۔

یہ طریق کار اس حکمت عملی کا ایک جزو تھا جسے انگریز نے اپنے مخصوص نظام تعلیم کو اس ملک میں نافذ کرتے ہوئے پیش نظر رکھا۔ اس سلسلہ میں لارڈ میکالے کی شہرہ آفاق، یا ہوں کہہ دیجئے کہ رسوائے زمانہ، رو داد پر نگاہ ڈالئے تو ظاہر ہو جائیگا کہ برطانوی حکومت کو کیا مقصد پیش نظر رکھنے کا مشورہ دیا گیا اور یہی مقصد اس طرح فی الواقع پیش نظر رکھا گیا۔ قیام پاکستان کے بعد ہمیں استبداد کی آہنی گرفت سے نجات مل چکی ہے۔ اب ہم نہ صرف اپنی تعلیمی حکمت عملی کو ایک نئی راہ پر ڈال سکتے ہیں بلکہ ہمارے لئے یہ بھی ممکن ہو گیا ہے کہ اپنے تاریخی سرمائے کو از سر نو مرتب و مدون کریں۔

خواتین و حضرات!

اہل علم و دانش کی ایک مقتدر جماعت اس مہتمم بالشان تقریب میں حصہ لینے کے لئے آج یہاں موجود ہے۔ اس جماعت کے تعاون سے یہ عین ممکن ہے کہ اس کانفرنس کو ایک ایسے سوچے سمجھے ہوئے منصوبے کی داغ بیل ڈالنے کا موقع ملے جس کے ماتحت تحقیق کی رسائی اس عظیم تاریخی دفتہ تک ہو جائے جو یا تو صدیوں تک نظروں سے اوجھل رہا اور یا اب تک غلط فہمیوں اور غلط نمائیوں کا بازیچہ بنا رہا۔ معلومات کا یہ چنپا ہوا خزانہ نئے مکتشفین کا انتظار کر رہا ہے۔ سچے یقین ہے کہ آفتاب حقیقت کے پرستاروں کا یہ اجتماع عالمانہ اور حکیمانہ تنقید و تفتیش کے اس تمام ساز و سامان سے آراستہ ہے جس کی اس موضوع اور اس کے متعلقہ اسلوب تحقیق کو ضرورت ہے۔

کانفرنس کے انعقاد کے لئے لاہور کا انتخاب

اس کانفرنس کے انعقاد کے لئے لاہور کا انتخاب محض حسن اتفاق پر معمول نہ کرنا چاہئے۔ یہ انتخاب کئی لحاظ سے نہایت موزوں انتخاب تھا۔ لاہور قدیم ہندوستان کے قدیم ترین شہروں میں سے ہے اور برائے ہندو تمدن کا کہوارہ ہے۔ اس کی تاریخ عہد ماضی میں بہت دور تک پہنچتی ہے۔ اسلامی افکار و اعمال کے مرکز کی حیثیت سے اسے اس وقت سے اہمیت حاصل ہے جب سلطان محمود غزنوی کے مجاہدین کے لئے، نو صدیوں سے



زیادہ عرصہ ہوا، ہندوستان نے اپنے دروازے کھولے۔ اس برعظیم میں اسلام کے سیاسی اور دینی نشو و نما کے ساتھ لاہور کے روابط بے شمار ہیں۔ اگر ایک طرف برعظیم کے پہلے مسلمان شاہی خاندان کا بانی سلطان قطب الدین ایبک یہاں محو خواب ہے (اگرچہ اس کے مرقد کا ماحول اس کی عظمت کے شایان شان نہیں ہے) تو دوسری طرف شہنشاہ جہانگیر اور اس کی ناہور رفیقہ حیات نورجہاں کو بھی اپنی آخری آرام گاہ یہیں راوی کے پار نصیب ہوئی۔ شہنشاہ عالمگیر کی بنائی ہوئی عظیم الشان بادشاہی مسجد بنی، نیز اکبر اعظم کا تعمیر کردہ قلعہ شہر کے لئے باعث زینت ہیں۔ ان کے علاوہ متعدد دوسری عمارات اور یادگاریں ہیں جو سیاح کو اس ملک میں اسلامی عہد حکومت کی شان و شوکت کی یاد دلاتی ہیں۔ مسلمانوں کے سیاسی غلبے کے دور عروج کی ان نشانیوں کے ساتھ اس تاریخی شہر میں بعض نہایت جلیل القدر بزرگان دین اور مبلغین اسلام کے مقابر بھی موجود ہیں۔ میری مراد حضرت داتا گنج بخش رحمہ، حضرت میاں میر رحمہ اور حضرت شاہ محمد غوث رحمہ ہیں جن کا اس خطہ ارض میں محض وجود مقامی باشندوں کے لئے بے شمار برکتوں کا سرچشمہ ثابت ہوا اور جنہوں نے اپنی زندگی کی بے لوث پاکیزگی اور تقدس، اور اپنی تعلیمات کی بے مثال سادگی کی کشش سے ہزاروں لاکھوں کو دینِ قیم کے دائرہ رحمت میں شامل کیا۔

اسلام اور مسلمانوں سے لاہور کا تعلق محض عہدِ ماضی تک محدود نہیں ہے۔ یہ شہر اب بھی مسلمانوں کی تعلیمی اور تہذیبی زندگی کا ایک اہم مرکز ہے۔ زیادہ عرصہ نہیں گزرا کہ اسے یہ عظیم الشان فخر نصیب تھا کہ مسلمانوں کی نشاۃ الثانیہ کا عظیم الشان نقیب، چار دانگ عالم میں معروف حکیم الامت، شاعر بے بدل، ملتِ بیضا کے روشن مستقبل کی ازسرنو تخلیق کرنے والا علامہ اقبال رحمہ اسی زمین کو آسمان بنا رہا تھا۔ موت کے بے رحم ہاتھ نے یہ گوہر بے بہا بہت جلد ہم سے چھین لیا۔ اقبال رحمہ جامع عالم گیری کے سائے میں ابدی نیند سو رہا ہے اور اب بھی، جسمانی طور پر نہ سہی، روحانی طور پر ہمارے درمیان موجود ہے۔ اس کا پیغام آنے والی نسلوں کے لئے ہمیشہ ہمیشہ چراغِ ہدایت کا کام دیتا رہے گا۔

اس سے قطع نظر، لاہور میں بعض کیفیتیں ایسی ہیں جو اسی شہر سے مخصوص ہیں۔ تعلیمی اور جامعی سرگرمیوں کے لحاظ سے اس کی یکتائی مسلم

ہے۔ پاکستان کی عظیم ترین، قدیم ترین اور اہم ترین یونیورسٹی، یعنی پنجاب یونیورسٹی، لاہور میں قائم ہے۔ سکولوں اور کالجوں کی سب سے بڑی تعداد اسی یونیورسٹی سے وابستہ ہے۔ ان میں اسلامیہ کالج لاہور سب سے بڑا ہے جو انجمن حمایت اسلام کی تحویل میں ہے۔ انجمن حمایت اسلام ملک کا سب سے اہم مسلم تعلیمی ادارہ ہے۔ اسے قائم ہوئے ساٹھ برس سے زیادہ کا زمانہ گزر چکا ہے اور اس لحاظ سے یہ ملک بھر میں اپنی طرز کی سب سے قدیم ہی نہیں سب سے بڑی انجمن بھی ہے۔ لاہور کو یہ امتیاز بھی حاصل ہے کہ پاکستان کے دو سب سے بڑے کتب خانے، پنجاب یونیورسٹی پبلک لائبریری اور پنجاب لائبریری، اسی شہر میں ہیں۔ مطالعے اور علمی تحقیقات کی جو سہولتیں ان کتب خانوں میں میسر ہیں، وہ اہل پاکستان کو اور کمپیں حاصل نہیں ہیں۔ سچ تو یہ ہے کہ لاہور اس لحاظ سے نہایت موزوں ہے کہ یہاں تاریخی تحقیقات کے لئے کسی ادارے کا قیام عمل میں آئے۔ میرے نزدیک کسی ایسے ادارے کا قیام اُن اہم مقاصد میں سے ایک ہے جن پر اس کانفرنس کو غور کرنا چاہئے۔

ان تمام وجوہ کی بنا پر مناسب یہی تھا کہ کانفرنس کا یہ اجلاس اسی مقام پر ہوتا، اور میں خاص طور پر اس بات سے خوش ہوں کہ آج کی نشست میں ہم اُن ذرائع پر غور کریں گے جو مطالعہ تاریخ میں ممد و معاون ثابت ہو سکیں۔

### تاریخ کا دائرہ بحث اور موضوع

تاریخ قدیم ترین علوم میں سے ہے اور اس کی قدر و قیمت اس لحاظ سے مسلم ہے کہ اس کا شمار ذہنی تربیت کے بہترین ضابطوں میں ہوتا ہے۔ تاریخ کا مطالعہ بنیادی طور پر کوائف انسانی کا مطالعہ ہے۔ اس کی بوقلموں تعریفیں کی گئی ہیں۔ ”انسان کے متعلق حقائق کی فراہمی اور ان کا ارتقاء،“ ”بنی نوع انسان میں عمل تغیر کا مطالعہ،“ ”انسان کے متعلق حقائق ماضی کا مطالعہ،“ ”اپنے کارناموں کو منضبط کرنے کے لئے انسان کی کوشش،“ ”اقوام کی سوانح عمری،“ نسل انسانی دراصل افراد کے مجموعہ کا نام ہے تاریخ بجز اس کے کہ ”انفرادی عمل کی یاد داشت،“ ہے، اور کیا ہے؟

شاید اسی لئے کہا گیا ہے کہ بنی نوع انسان کی تاریخ بڑے آدمیوں کی تاریخ ہے۔ کارلائل نے نزدیک تاریخ بے شمار سوانح عمریوں کا انجوش ہے۔ یہ شاید مبالغہ ہو لیکن اس میں شبہ نہیں کہ ان اکابر کی زندگیوں میں جن کے آثار و اعمال نے قوموں کی تقدیر بنائی یا بدل ڈالی، آنے والی نسلوں کے لئے ایک مستقل اہمیت رکھتی ہیں۔ تاریخ وہ بنی کچھ ہے جو انسان نے سپا، سوچا اور کیا۔ بنی آدم کی ساری زندگی۔ معاشرت کا پورا عملی ارتقا۔ تاریخ کو آدم سے وہی نسبت ہے جو حائلہ کو فرد سے ہے۔ جس طرح حائلہ فرد کے لئے شعور کے تسلسل کا ضامن ہے اور اس کے ماضی و حال کے تجربات کو ناہم منسلک کرتا ہے، اسی طرح تاریخ قوم کو نہ صرف اس کے ماضی کی واضح تصویر پیش کرتی ہے بلکہ اسے مربوط اور مسلسل زندگی بسر کرنے کے قابل بناتی ہے۔ جس امت کو اپنی روایات کا اہل ناث ہونا ہے، اسے ان روایات کا جاننا اور ان کی قدر پہ جاننا لازم ہے۔ صرف تاریخ کا مطالعہ ہی اسے اس قابل بناتا ہے کہ اپنے کو معاشرہ انسانی کے دوسرے حصوں کی زندگی سے منطبق کر کے سمجھے۔ ان تصورات کا تجزیہ کرے جنہوں نے اس زندگی کو آب و رنگ دیا۔ اور ان مادی اسباب کا جائزہ لے جن کے ماتحت اسے عروج اور زوال نصیب ہوا۔ کسی امت کے لئے صرف یہی ایک طریق کار ہے جس کے مطابق وہ اپنے سفر حیات کی اگلی منزل کا خاکہ تیار کرتی ہے۔

”تاریخ بنی نوع انسان کا عمل خود شناسی ہے، نسل انسانی کا شعور نفس ہے،۔۔۔ المانی مورخ ڈرائسن کے اس مقولے کی صداقت ہم پر روشن ہو جاتی ہے اگر ہم ان تحریکات کا مطالعہ کریں جنہوں نے مختلف اقوام کے نشو و نما میں مدد دی۔ شہنشاہ آسٹریا کو اس کے نفسیاتی اثر کا صحیح اندازہ تھا جب اس نے چیک آبادی کے قوم پرستانہ جذبات کو دبانے کے لئے یہ فیصلہ کیا کہ ہالیسکی کی لکھی ہوئی تاریخ ہومیریا کی اشاعت کی راہ میں روڑے اٹکائے۔ اسی طرح جب ٹریشر نے جرمنوں کی قومی روح کو بیدار کرنا چاہا تو اس نے ان کی تاریخ مرتب کر کے اپنی کوششوں کا آغاز کیا۔ اگر کسی قوم کے دل میں اس کے مستقبل کے متعلق کوئی نیا جذبہ پیدا کرنا مقصود ہے تو ہمیں سب سے پہلے اس مورخ کی ضرورت ہے

جو اُن کے دل میں اُن کے ماضی کے متعلق ایک نیا جذبہ پیدا کرے اور یہ حقیقت اُمتِ مسلمہ پر بھی اُسی طرح صادق آتی ہے جس طرح کسی اور اُمت پر کہ اُسے اپنے نفس کا شعور صرف اپنی تاریخ کے مطالعہ سے حاصل ہو سکتا ہے۔ اُمتِ مسلمہ کی تاریخ سے مراد یہی ہے کہ وہ اسلامی عقائد کے قوت سے فعل میں آنے کا بیان ہے۔

### تاریخی تحقیقات کا نشو و نما

مسلمانوں کے کسی اجتماع میں مطالعہٴ تاریخ کی ضرورت و اہمیت پر زور دینا کچھ عجیب سا معلوم ہونا ہے کیونکہ اگر اس شعبہٴ علم کی تاریخ پر سر سری سی نگاہ ڈالی جائے تو یہ واضح ہو جائے گا کہ مسلمانوں نے اس کے ارتقاء میں نمایاں اور قابلِ فخر حصہ لیا۔ تاریخ کا آغاز واقعات کے بیان سے نہیں ہوا۔ اس کا پہلا ظہور شاعرانہ ادب میں ہوا جس کی قدیم ترین شکلیں لوک گیت اور رزمیہ نظم ہیں۔ یہاں بھی تاریخ صرف واقعات کی طرف اشارہ کرنے تک محدود تھی اور یہ واقعات صنمیات اور داستان گوئی کے تہہ برتہ پردوں کے نیچے دبے رہتے تھے۔ یہ شاعری جو ازمنہٴ قدیمہ میں تاریخ نگاری کی قریب ترین شکل ہے ادنیٰ درجے کی تاریخ کے ظہور سے بہت پہلے مختلف اقوام میں معراجِ کمال کو پہنچ چکی تھی۔ یونان کو ہیروڈوٹس سے پہلے ہومر نصیب ہوا اور روما کو لٹریس سے پہلے ورجل۔ اٹلی میں میکیاولی سے مدتوں پہلے ڈانٹے کا ظہور ہوا۔ ہندوستان رامائن اور مہابھارت پر ناز کر سکتا ہے لیکن اس کا دامن تاریخی ادب سے کلیہً خالی ہے۔ روایت، دیومالا اور قافیہ و وزن کی زنجیروں سے عہدِ قدیم کے دماغ کو آہستہ آہستہ ہی نجات مل سکی جس سے اُس میں بتدریج یہ صلاحیت پیدا ہوئی کہ تاریخی معلومات کو صفائی اور صداقت سے بیان کر سکے۔

سب سے پہلے اہل یونان نے تاریخ کو ایک مستقل فن کے مرتبے تک پہنچایا۔ لیکن قومی تاریخ کا تصور رومیوں کے ہاں شروع ہوا ان کے قومی احساس کی شدت نے ان کے فن تاریخ نویسی کو متاثر کر کے لیوی اور لٹریس جیسے مورخ پیدا کئے۔ یہ دونوں پہلے قومی مورخ ہیں جنہیں کوئی قابلِ ذکر مقام حاصل ہے۔ پھر مسیحیت نے کلیسا کی تخلیق کی

اور مذہب کو تاریخ کے سب سے زیادہ متاثر اور عوامل میں شمار کرا یا ۔  
 مسیحیت نے او کوں میں یہ احساس پیدا کیا کہ روحانی زندگی ہر دوسری  
 قسم کی زندگی سے زیادہ اہم ہے ۔ اس احساس کے سبب کرسا کو مسیحیت  
 کے مقابلہ میں زیادہ اہمیت ملی گئی اور دوسری طرف مسیحیت میں ضعف  
 آنے لگا جس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ قرون وسطیٰ کی تاریخ نویسی بہت بڑی  
 حد تک ارباب کرسا کے ہاتھوں میں چلی گئی ۔ یہ صورت حال ناگزیر تھی ۔  
 کیونکہ ولیوں اور باہاؤں کی سوانح عمریوں اور رہائی مسلمانوں کے احوال و  
 کیفیات کے ساتھ سے قطع نظر، عمومی یا عام تہذیب ساس تاریخیں بھی اہل  
 کرسا کی سائنسی اصولوں پر لکھنے لگیں ۔ یورپ کے قرون وسطیٰ میں کوئی  
 ایسی تصنیف نہیں تھی جس کی جو فلسفۂ تاریخ کھلانے کی سستی ہو ۔ یہ  
 قدرتی بات تھی، اس لئے کہ قرون وسطیٰ کے یورپ اہل فہم نہ صرف جن  
 حقائق اور اسباب و عوامل سے بے بہرہ تھے جن پر ایک موزوں اور قابل  
 قبول فلسفۂ تاریخ کی بنیاد رکھی جاسکتی ہے بلکہ وہ جن تاریخی حقائق سے  
 بھی غیبہ برآ ہوئے کے اہل نہ تھے جو انہیں خود اس زمانے میں مسر نہیں  
 تاریخ کا پہلا لازمہ مادہ ہے کہ اسے حالات کی سچی کیفیت، پیش  
 آمد و واقعات کا صحیح صحیح بیان ہونا چاہئے ۔ لیکن اس کے لئے پہلی شرط  
 ایسے صفات کی موجودگی اور پھر ان کے استعمال پر قدرت حاصل ہونا ہے  
 جن سے قرون وسطیٰ کا یورپی انسان بیکہ غافل تھا ۔ وہ صفات کیا ہیں ؟  
 مشاہدہ کی صلاحیت، تحلیل پسند ذہن، فراہم شدہ معلومات کو تولیے  
 اور ہر کچھ کی استمداد، تعصب سے پاک رہنے کی قابلیت، اور نئے خیالات  
 کو قبول کرنے کے لئے ذہن کو ہمیشہ مستعد رکھنے پر آمادگی ۔ اس کے  
 بجائے قرون وسطیٰ کا یورپی انسان انتہا درجے کا سریع الاعتقاد بے نقد و نظر  
 اور متعصب انسان تھا ۔ اپنی بے خبری سے بے خبر، وہ ہر وقت افسانہ کو  
 حقیقت تسلیم کرنے پر آمادہ رہتا تھا اور اپنے ماحول کے عام انداز خیال  
 سے متاثر ہو کر، وہ عوام کو کرسائی زاویہ نگاہ سے دیکھنے کا خوگر  
 تھا ۔ چنانچہ غیر مسیحی زندگی کے متعلق کوئی ایسا تصور قائم کرنا جو اور  
 نہیں تو کم از کم واجبی طور پر صحیح ہو، اس کے لئے کلیۃً ناممکن  
 ہو گیا تھا ۔

اس سے دنیا کی خوش قسمتی سمجھئے کہ قرون وسطیٰ میں ایک اسلامی تمدن بھی نام نہاد مسیحی تمدن کے ساتھ موجود تھا اور اس کے علاوہ ایک اسلامی فن تاریخ نویسی بھی۔ یہ فن ایک خود رو فن تھا کیونکہ زمانہء ما قبل اسلام کے عرب میں تاریخی، تالیفات کا کوئی وجود نہ تھا۔ عربی زبان کی تاریخی تحریریں (اس اصطلاح کی صحت مفہوم کا لحاظ رکھتے ہوئے) اسلامی ادبیات کا ایک شعبہ ہیں۔ بلکہ واقعہ یہ ہے کہ خود رسول کریم صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم کی ذات مبارک تاریخی دلچسپی کا پہلا موضوع بنی۔ اس کے لئے یہ ضروری ہوا کہ آن حضرت ص کی سیرت طیبہ نیز آن تمام مغازی کے متعلق جن میں آن حضرت ص نے شرکت فرمائی، فراہم شدہ معلومات کا مقابلہ و موازنہ کیا جائے اس سلسلہ میں جو کامیابی ہوئی وہ محدثین کرام کی تفحص آمیز احتیاط و توجہ پر ہمیشہ شاہد عادل رہے گی۔ ہر واقعہ عینی گواہوں اور ہم عصروں کے الفاظ میں روایت کیا جاتا ہے اور درمیانی راویوں کی ایک زنجیر کے ذریعہ سے آخری راوی تک پہنچتا ہے۔ اس زنجیر کی ثقاہت کا انحصار دو شرطوں پر ہے۔

#### (الف) زنجیر کا تسلسل،

(ب) یہ یقین کہ ہر روایت کنندہ، بر بنائے حیات و اخلاق، قابل اعتماد ہے۔

مورخانہ تالیف کی یہ شکل اہل عرب میں اپنی مثال آپ ہے اور جدید فن تاریخ نویسی کے بنیادی لوازم کو پورا کرتی ہے، بہ ایں معنی کہ یہ انداز تحقیق سند کی تلاش کو ”سرچشمہ تک“، پہنچاتا ہے۔ بلاشبہ ابتدائی تالیفات ایسے سوانحی مواد تک محدود تھیں جو بقید سن و سال مرتب ہوتا تھا۔ مگر جلد ہی اصل خیال نے ایک وسیع تصور کی شکل اختیار کر لی۔ علم آثار قدیمہ، علم الانسان اور جغرافیہ بھی تاریخ میں شامل کئے گئے اور ارباب عقل و بصیرت نے اپنے آپ کو اس بغایت دلچسپ شعبہ علم کے لئے وقف کر دیا۔ ابوالعباس احمد ابن جابر البلاذری کے ہاتھوں جن کا انتقال تیسری صدی ہجری کے ربع آخر میں ہوا، فن تاریخ نے ایک واضح ارتقائی منزل طے کی۔ لیکن اس شعبہ علم میں مسلمان محققین کی

دھنی لڑو مندی کا جوہر مسعودی، السرونی، ابن الاثیر، طبری (حسب عربی  
 لہجہ کا نام دیا جاتا ہے) طبری، طبری، اور ابوالفدا کے زمانہ جاوید۔ یہ  
 میں آئے۔ یہ لوگ صرف ایک ہی عالم کے ماهر نہ تھے بلکہ متعدد علوم  
 و معارف کے جامع تھے۔ وہ مورخ بھی تھے اور فلسفہ و ریاضی و جغرافیہ  
 کے عالم بھی!

ان میں شاید عظیم ترین شخصیت ابو زہاد عبدالرحمن ابن خلدون کی  
 تھی جس کا زمانہ آٹھویں صدی ہجری کا ہے۔ ابن خلدون کی شہرت کی بنیاد  
 اس مہتمم بالشان عالمی کارنامہ یعنی اس کی تاریخ عالم پر قائم ہے۔ اس تاریخ  
 کا مقصد بجائے خود ہستی بہا معلومات اور فلسفانہ فکر و تحقیق کا گنجینہ  
 ہے۔ اس میں ابن خلدون، معاشرہ کی اصل، تمدن کے ارتقاء، سائنسوں اور شاہی  
 خاندانوں کے عروج و زوال کی تشریح کرتا ہے اور من جملہ دوسرے امور کے  
 قومی سیرت کی تشکیل پر آب و ہوا کے اثر کا مسئلہ بھی زیر بحث لانا ہے۔  
 ابن خلدون کے سوا شاید کسی اور شخص کو (اس اصطلاح کے موجودہ  
 مفہوم کے لحاظ سے)، تاریخی تنقید کی ماعت کا واضح شعور اور اس کی اعست  
 کا صحیح اندازہ نہ تھا۔ اس نے فلسفہ تاریخ کی بنا ڈالی۔ وہ پہلا شخص  
 تھا جس نے دنیا کو تاریخی ارتقاء کا ایک نظریہ پیش کیا جو انسانی اسباب  
 اور معاشرتی مظاہر کا، نیز ان روحانی قوتوں کا جو زندگی میں کار فرما ہیں  
 صحیح مقام متعین کرتا ہے۔ وہ اس وقت تک کی دنیا کا سب سے بڑا مورخ  
 فلسفی تھا، اور بحیثیت مجموعی اب بھی یقیناً دنیا کے عظیم ترین مورخین  
 میں سے ہے۔ ابن خلدون کے متعلق اپنے بیان کو ختم کرنے سے پہلے مجھے  
 یہ موزوں معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ ایڈنبرا یونیورسٹی کے پروفیسر رابرٹ فلنٹ کی  
 رائے یہاں نقل کر دوں۔ پروفیسر موصوف کے متعلق یہ بدگمانی نہیں کی  
 جاسکتی کہ انہوں نے اسلام اور مسلمانوں کے بارے میں جنبہ داری سے  
 کام لیا ہے۔ وہ فرماتے ہیں:—

جہاں تک عالم تاریخ کا تعلق ہے، عربی ادب ایک بے انتہا درخشاں  
 نام سے مزین ہے۔ نہ تو یونان و روما اور نہ قرون وسطیٰ کی  
 مسیحی دنیا میں کوئی ایسا نام ملتا ہے جو تابانی میں اس ایک  
 نام کے قریب پہنچتا ہو۔ ابن خلدون (۱۳۳۲ ع ۱۴۰۶) کو اگر

محض ایک مورخ کی حیثیت سے دیکھئے تو خود عربی مصنفین میں اس سے بلند تو ہستیاں موجود تھیں۔ لیکن تاریخ کے مجتہد کی حیثیت سے کسی زمانہ اور کسی ملک میں اُس کا کوئی مثیل نہ تھا تاآنکہ . . ۳ سال بعد ویکو کا ظہور ہوا افلاطون، ارسطو اور آگسٹائن اس کے اقران و امثال نہ تھے۔ اور دوسرے سب اس قابل نہیں تھے کہ اُن کا نام تک اس کے ساتھ لیا جاسکے۔ اُس کی آپج اور فراست، اُس کی گہرائی اور گیرائی، ہر بات عنجیب و غریب تھی۔ لیکن وہ اپنی طرز کا ایک ہی انسان تھا۔ اپنے ہم مذہبوں اور ہم عصروں کے درمیان فلسفہء تاریخ کے شعبے میں اتنا ہی تنہا اور یکتا جتنا ڈانٹے شاعری میں اور راجر بیکن سائنس میں۔ اپنے ہم مذہبوں اور ہم عصروں کے درمیان بلاشبہ عربی مورخین نے وہ مواد جمع کیا تھا جسے وہ استعمال کر سکا لیکن وہی ایک شخص تھا جس نے یہ مواد استعمال کیا۔

### پاکستان ہسٹاریکل سوسائٹی

یہ ایک بدیہی حقیقت ہے کہ ہر قوم اپنے ماضی کی بہترین زندہ یادگار اور خود ہی اس ماضی کی بہترین شارح ہوتی ہے اس میں شک نہیں کہ مسلمانوں نے تہذیب و تمدن کے ارتقاء میں جو حصہ لیا وہ ہمارے لئے موجب فخر ہے اور اگرچہ اب اُنہیں متمدن دنیا کی سربراہی حاصل نہیں تاہم وہ صفحہء ہستی پر ایک روشن اور نہ مٹنے والا نقش ثبت کر چکے ہیں۔ اب یہ مورخین کا کام ہے کہ وہ دور ماضی کے خزائن کا سراغ لگائیں اور تحقیق و تفتیش علمیہ کے اُس منصب کو از سرنو اختیار کریں جو نامساعد حالات کے باعث ترک کرنا پڑا تھا۔ تاریخ اسلام میں بالعدوم اور تاریخ پاکستان و ہند میں بالخصوص اہل بصیرت کی کنج کاوی کے لئے وسیع پیمانے پر گنجائش موجود ہے۔ لیکن اس میدان میں اب تک گویا غیر مسلم مورخین ہی کا اجارہ رہا ہے جنہوں نے۔ الا ماشاء اللہ۔ معلومات کے اُس بڑے ذخیرے کو جو موجودہ ہے، بہ غرض تشریح اور بہ طریق نقل استعمال کرتے ہوئے، دانستہ یا نادانستہ بدسگالی اور غلط اندیشی کا مظاہرہ



کیا ہے۔ یہ کانفرنس پاکستان ہسٹاریکل سوسائٹی کے زیر اہتمام منعقد ہوئی ہے جس کے قیام کا مقصد ”مقالہٴ تاریخ، بالخصوص تاریخ اسلام اور تاریخ بر عظیم پاکستان و ہند کے ممالک کو فروغ دینا، ہے۔ سوسائٹی نے سبب تک ایک بڑی ضرورت پوری کی ہے کہ ماہرین تاریخ کو ایک صف میں لا کھڑا کیا ہے اور تاریخی تحقیقات کے سلسلے میں ان کی مساعی اہم مرادوں کر دی ہیں۔ یہ اس عہد علمی تحقیق صرف سازگار ماحول میں جاری رہ سکتی ہے۔ یہاں حکومت کی توجہ کی ضرورت ہے کہ چونکہ رام کی قومیں نوعیت و اہمیت بالکل واضح ہے۔ حکومت ہسٹاریکل سوسائٹی کو اس نال بنانے کے وہ علمی تحقیقی کام کرنے والوں کے لئے ضروری سہولتیں مسر کر سکے۔ پہلی شرط یہ ہے کہ اصل مآخذ تک محققین کی رسائی ہو۔ میری مراد ان ہش ہزار معلومات سے ہے جن کا بڑا حصہ اس وقت پوری اور ہندوستانی کتب خانوں کو موزن اور منتشر کر رہا ہے۔ پنجاب یونیورسٹی لائبریری میں بھی ایک خاص ذخیرہ موجود ہے لیکن جو ذخائر ہندوستان اور بالخصوص مغرب کے کتب خانوں میں پڑے ہیں، ان سے روٹو گراف لٹلوں کی صورت میں ضرور استفادہ کیا جاسکتا ہے۔ اسلامی تاریخ کی تشکیل جدید اسی رسم کے ذرائع سے ممکن ہے۔

ہو ابکسنسی! اب میں آپ سے درخواست کرتا ہوں کہ براہ کرم کانفرنس کا افتتاح فرمائیے۔

## APPENDIX B

Speech made by His Excellency Mr. Ismail I, Chundrigar, Governor of the Punjab, in inaugurating the Second Session of the All Pakistan History Conference held at Lahore on the 7th of March 1952.

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LADIES AND GENTLEMEN :

I greatly appreciate the honour you have done me by asking me to inaugurate the Second Session of the All Pakistan History Conference. The task before you is a gigantic one, as we are faced with a great dearth of books on history in every field. Pakistan demands the individual and collective effort of every one who can assist in this sphere. I am glad to see that keen interest is taken in the activities of this Conference, and this is a very happy augury for the future.

Though neither a historian nor a scholar of history, I have been a keen student of history. I shall seek your indulgence for being permitted to make a few general observations in the hope that your sustained labours in the field of research will produce good and useful histories.

Let us at the outset try to examine the scope, purpose and function of history. History is said to be human past, so far as it is known to us. There is little doubt that the idea of writing history must have originated with a view to satisfying human curiosity, as man is by nature anxious to know something about the affairs and deeds of other human beings. As Carlyle observes, initially "the charm of History lay chiefly in gratifying our common appetite for the wonderful, the unknown; and her office was but that of a Minstrel and story-teller." Originally, accounts of hostilities between kings monopolised a great portion of histories, Milton protested against such a conception of History by asking "such bickerings to recount, met often in these our writers, what more worth is it than to chronicle the wars of kites and crows flocking and fighting in the air?"

Later on, some far-sighted men conceived the use of history as a guide for mankind. You are aware of the importance we attach to experience in the conduct of human affairs. This is due to the fact that human memory stores impressions of past sensations and events and automatically compares newly arising situations with those of the past, whenever there is any resemblance. A critical study of the causes and effects of past events materially helps us in solving future problems. History ' med

the role of a teacher and endeavoured to instruct while gratifying human curiosity. It is said that even a donkey does not hurt himself twice on the same stone. Man should not, therefore, commit the same mistake twice. Nay, he should avoid the errors committed by other men before and profit from their examples by avoiding the natural consequences of follies committed by his predecessors. A thorough study of history enables us to enlist in our support the experience gained by others before us. Carlyle said " For, strictly considered, what is all knowledge too but recorded experience, and a product of history; of which, therefore, reasoning and belief, no less than action and passion, are essential materials ? " History thus became " Philosophy, teaching by experience. " The deeper our human understanding, the better our history ; the broader our historical knowledge, the richer our psychological insight.

The world is governed by reason. As remarked by Emerson " Cause and effect, means and ends, seed and fruit, cannot be severed; for the effect already blooms in the cause, the end pre-exists in the means, the fruit in the seed. " This is beautifully expressed in our philosophy when we say that Allah is *Musaib-e-bul-Asbab*. All effects are brought about by causes according to the laws of Allah. In the long process of time it is natural that numerous coincidences should occur spontaneously. If the number and variety of subjects be infinite, it is more likely, with such abundance of material, to expect similarity of results in almost every case. Events are likely to repeat themselves at some future date in a similar manner, if not exactly the same. A historian who not merely describes the past events, but also relates their causes and consequences, teaches us lessons which may prove invaluable in our future conduct of public affairs. It was in this sense that Bacon remarked that the study of history is very useful as histories make man wise.

Another function of history is to prevent virtuous actions from being forgotten and to ensure that evil words and deeds do not escape an infamous reputation with posterity. This aspect of history will, in my opinion, play an important part in extolling and placing before the world Islamic values of life, and I am sure our historians will bear that in mind.

Carlyle said that " History is the essence of innumerable biographies. " This is true in a sense, but is not wholly true. Many a biography presents a lop-sided picture of the lives it sets out to depict by exaggerating the part played by the hero. The " romanced biography " must, of course, not

masquerade as history. However, a classic like *Tazkra-tul Auliya* by Shaikh Farid-ud-Din Attar can transform the life of a society.

The task of the historian is a difficult one and requires a close study and keen perception from historians. This brings me to the qualifications of a historian. As Macaulay says "To be a really good historian is perhaps the rarest of intellectual distinctions." Carlyle says "Histories are as perfect as the historian is wise and is gifted with an eye and a soul."

A historian has first to choose a subject and carry out a thorough research, as a preliminary operation, to collect his material. Historical investigation is to see life critically and, as a whole, in its true perspective. A historian has to master all the relevant facts of his subject and important facts of connected subjects. He has to be familiar with the technique of investigation. It will not be amiss to refer to the old story narrated by Sir Walter Raleigh of his looking from his prison window on some street tumult and obtaining a report of the occurrence from three eye-witnesses, who each reported it in a different manner and his own report differing from that of every other one. Such a thing happens even in cases where the reporters are perfectly truthful, but the difficulties confronting a historian are intensified when he has to deal with reports, some of which may be truthful, and others inaccurate or false. Besides the qualifications of a good investigator, he has to possess the capacity of a good judge to sift the evidence and reject versions, which may be inaccurate, false or biased, and has to arrive at a correct statement of fact. No history can be of any use, unless it has truth as its foundation. A historian must accept the basic principle of history to be that it shall not state anything which is false and that it shall not shirk from stating anything that is true. Having ascertained his facts, a historian has to be a good storyteller to make his narrative interesting. He requires a good command over the language to bring home the moral of his story to his reader.

A historian can succeed only if he can re-enact the past in his own mind, place himself mentally in the surroundings of his theme and try to appreciate the thought and mode of thinking of his characters. Then alone will he be able to reconstruct for us the past in its living reality. He requires erudition to present to us the fruits of his labours.

A real historian has to possess a mind of great compass and comprehensiveness, a gift of detecting subtle analogies between different

characters, circumstances and things. He must have the capacity to make a calm and impartial survey. He should be able to discern causal relations between different events. His critical faculty should be of a high order. Above all, he should not be apt to allow personal bias to colour a judicious summing up unaffected by personal or intellectual predilection or antipathy.

To sum up, Cervantes says "History ought to be precise, faithful and unprejudiced and neither interest nor fear, hatred nor affection, should make a historian swerve from the path of truth."

You have rightly divided your work into three Sections—the General Section, the Islamic History Section and the Indo-Pakistan History Section. I have not much to add to what I have stated about the General Section. As to the Islamic History Section, we should attach great importance to the lives of those Muslim sages, who, by their plain living and high thinking, placed the real model of a Muslim before the people of this country in order to attract them to the grandeur of Islam. Saints like Hazrat Data Ganj Bakhsh and Hazrat Khwaja Moin-ud-Din Chishti, to mention only a few, led a model life to set a very high ideal before the people. Their mode of living, their truthfulness, their unconcern for the material needs of life, their generosity and their human sympathy towards every one who came in contact with them, can be written in letters of gold. It was reverence for their personalities and for their high qualities which was instrumental in popularising the noble life of a true Muslim.

Islam has produced distinguished historians like Al-Beruni, Ibn-e-Khaldoon, Makrizi, Makkarî, and Masudi.

Many of the histories of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent have unfortunately been written by people who were not free from bias. A dispassionate and true history of this era has yet to be written. We have produced some excellent historians like Syed Amir Ali, Allama Shibli, and Maulana Syed Suleman Nadvi. The material existing in many old records can be used with advantage in writing a good history. Even the records of Tacitus acquired a new meaning after 1,700 years in the hands of a Montesquieu, and we want historians to give the Islamic history and the history of the Islamic sub-continent a meaning which will be a beacon-light to our future generations. With the establishment of Pakistan, this has become a national necessity. "If the old records are properly examined, they can furnish material for preparing a history, of which we can be

proud. It will create an urge to achieve something greater in future. Just as the greatness of an architect lies in the grandeur of the edifice he constructs from ordinary building materials, so does the greatness of a historian lie in drawing a true but grand picture of the achievements of great men of the age he is dealing with.

It is a happy augury that your meeting is taking place at Lahore, which is a town of great historic importance in the whole of Pakistan. The Punjab in general and Lahore in particular present a rich field for research scholars. Nor does the Punjab lack interest for the archaeologist. It is dotted with hundreds of mounds which preserve the records of the ages gone by. Around this very city of Lahore and a few miles from here outside the small town of Kasur, there are many mounds which still await the soft touch of the archaeologist's spade to unearth another Harappa or Mohenjodaro. Whether Lahore and Kasur were founded by Lohu and Kasu or not, there is no doubt that Lahore was already an old city when Delhi was still an obscure village.

Our nation has produced a political genius like Quaid-i-Azam Muhammad Ali Jinnah, whose achievement shall for ever serve as a beacon-light to posterity. Is it not a pity that we have not yet been able to prepare a biography even of the Quaid-i-Azam?

The Pakistan Historical Society has a vast field to cover and you are rendering a great service in organizing conferences like this to arouse interest in history among our budding historians.

I have already taken longer than I should have done. I have now much pleasure in inaugurating the Second Session of the All Pakistan History Conference.

## APPENDIX C

Presidential Address by Hon'ble Mr. Fazlur Rahman, Minister for  
Commerce and Economic Affairs, Government of Pakistan

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.

I am grateful to the members of the Pakistan Historical Society for the honour they have done me by asking me to preside for a second time over the All Pakistan History Conference and I thank them most sincerely.

In my address last year I had made a brief survey of the development of historical studies, particularly the contribution of the Muslims to the science of historiography. Today I propose to touch upon a problem which, in the interest of national reconstruction, claims our immediate attention. It is time now that we should examine the question whether history and its study can help in the task that lies ahead of us, namely, the building up of an Islamic State and creating a social structure which will have its foundations laid on the principles and teachings of Islam. We have been called by the Quran as 'the best of the nations raised up for (the benefit of) men,' (3 : 109) and to be worthy of this honour, we must live up to the ideals laid down by it. We have already taken the first step in this direction by pledging ourselves to this ideal through the Objectives Resolution.

Let us now see what part can History play in shaping our destiny in the light of our cherished ideal. It is neither easy nor necessary to determine the limits of the meaning and significance of History. It has always come to the rescue of men and societies when they were faced with complicated situations. *In moments of crisis it is indispensable to "stop to think"*; and in this process one has to recall previous experiences. Sultan Muhammad bin Tughluq, for instance, was advised by the learned historian, Barani, to seek guidance for the problems of this government from the policies and actions of past rulers. The process of thinking demands awareness of our past experiences; indeed it has been described by John Dewey as "a reconstructive movement of actual contents of experience in relation to each other." It is to this aspect of history that the English philosopher, Collingwood, refers when he answers the question 'What is history for?' After emphasizing the importance of "human self-knowledge" he explains:

"Knowing yourself means knowing what you can do and since nobody knows what he can do until he tries, the only clue to what

man can do is what man has done. The value of history, then, is that it teaches what man has done and thus what man is."

It is not only true of an individual that to know himself he has to recollect past experiences, but for societies also that is the only process because when acting socially men normally behave as they do when acting privately. Societies, however, do not possess, like individuals, memories which have been rightly called store-houses of past experiences; hence, the need of men telling each other and their successive generations what has happened in the past. History, therefore, is to societies what memory is to individuals. The historian collects experiences of the past and by passing them on to us makes us wiser and helps us to determine the course of our future action.

We shall now consider how the historian can assist us in creating a social structure based on Islamic principles. It is he alone who can reconstruct our past for us. It is a hard work for him, because he will have to sift the truth from the plethora of materials and present a correct picture. Who does not know that European writers have not only misinterpreted and distorted the history of Islam but have, by minimizing the importance of our contribution to the development of civilization, deliberately tried to by-pass one of the most fascinating chapters in the story of man? As yet no serious attempt has been made by the Orientalists to measure the true extent of Islam's contribution to the growth of knowledge.

Recently, however, some of the Western scholars have begun to realize that their predecessors in the field of research were carried by their prejudices and did not acknowledge the debt of gratitude that civilization in general, and European civilization in particular, owes to Islam. "By the tenth century the whole basis of life throughout Spain was profoundly influenced by Islam, with the capture of Toledo that influence spread to Europe.....The schools of Toledo attracted scholars from all parts of Europe including England and Scotland. Among them were Robert the Englishman, Robertus Anglicus, the first translator of the Quran, Michael Scot, Daniel Marley, and Adelard of Bath". It was in the translation bureau of Toledo that the works of well-known Arab authors and Arabic versions of Greek classics were translated into English.

Baghdad had preceded Toledo in the work of translating and reviving Greek sciences. Plato, Aristotle, Galen and many a thinker of ancient



Greece were thus introduced to the West by the Muslims centuries before the revival of Greek learning in Western Europe. Nor were the effects of the discoveries and learning of the Muslims confined to the literary activities of man. The origin of some of the most important developments in the history of mankind can be traced to the intellectual activities of Muslims in the middle ages. Referring to the geographical studies of the Muslims a modern European scholar, J H Kramers, says, "So far as geography is concerned, these studies contributed in the first place to the keeping alive of the doctrine of the sphericity of the earth, which had been nearly forgotten in the 'Dark Ages' and without which the discovery of America would have been an impossibility." How important this fact is in the history of modern civilization, but how few people know of it?

I would therefore urge the scholars of History to start seriously the work of re writing the history of Islam. We maintain that Islam is the most comprehensive code of life revealed to man. It is for our historians to prove that it holds good even in the complicated conditions of life today as in the simple days of old.

Unlike many other religions of the world Islam does not fight shy of proclaiming that man's interest in this world is as great as in the life to come. Religion and politics were inseparable. At the very outset of his mission the Holy Prophet addressed his kinsmen thus —

‘I have brought that which will be good for religion as well as for the worldly life’ (Tabari, Vol III)

There are numerous incidents in the life of the Holy Prophet which indicate that he wanted to create a progressive society where freedom and equality would reign supreme and where every individual would have equal opportunities of attaining happiness and prosperity. Soon after his arrival at Medina he took steps to establish the Commonwealth of Islam. The preaching of the Faith and the conduct of the government went together.

What are the salient features of the Islamic State? This is a question which everybody would like to ask, and I am sure, gentlemen, no one could answer this question better and more authoritatively than scholars of history. The conception of State in Islam is basically different from its conception in other philosophies. There has always been a difference of opinion among the thinkers of the world whether the State is an end in itself or it is a means to an end. In Islam the State seeks to establish a social structure where the paramount Sovereignty of God reigns supreme.

There are several verses in the Quran where it has been laid down in the most emphatic words that sovereignty belongs to God alone and that this sovereignty is indivisible and is shared by none. "This is the Kingdom of the heavens and the earth; and to Allah are all the affairs returned" (57 : 5). According to the modern writers the essential characteristics of sovereignty are absoluteness, universality, inalienability, permanence and indivisibility. It has always been a problem with political thinkers to locate sovereignty; this problem has led to a sharp difference of opinion among them. Some of them, Bentham and Austin, for instance, have emphasized the legal, and others the political aspect of sovereignty. But it is clear from their explanations of the term that none of the modern views is immune from objections. The latest explanation, and undoubtedly the most widely accepted one, is that sovereignty rests with the people. This was the corner-stone of Rousseau's political philosophy and has caught the imagination of many a nation in the world. But when we ponder over the implications of this doctrine we experience a difficulty in giving it a precise meaning. What do we mean by 'people'? Does this term indicate "the total unorganized indeterminate mass", or "the electorate"? Obviously it cannot be taken in the first sense, for to be a sovereign, "people" can act through legal channels only. "Unorganized public opinion, however powerful, is not sovereignty", says a modern English writer, "unless it is clothed in legal form, no more so than the informal or unofficial resolution of the members of a legislative body is law". I have referred to these difficulties which one has to face in determining the true location of sovereignty because the modern thinkers have not cared to study the Quranic solution of this seemingly insoluble problem. "Therefore glory be to Him", says the Quran, "in Whose hands is the kingdom of all things, and to Him you shall be brought back." (36 : 83). This is not a solitary verse locating sovereignty, absolute and indivisible, in God. Without going into further details I would like to mention that there are verses in the Quran and important references in the works of Muslim political thinkers, like Ghazzali, to indicate the various characteristics of sovereignty which they have located in God. The Islamic ideal of the sovereignty of God has led people to think that an Islamic State would perforce be a theocratic state. Nothing is farther from the truth.

A theocratic government, whatever the literal meaning of the term, reminds us of the practical shape that it assumed among the ancients,

Greece were thus introduced to the West by the Muslims centuries before the revival of Greek learning in Western Europe. Nor were the effects of the discoveries and learning of the Muslims confined to the literary activities of man. The origin of some of the most important developments in the history of mankind can be traced to the intellectual activities of Muslims in the middle ages. Referring to the geographical studies of the Muslims a modern European scholar, J. H. Kramers, says, "So far as geography is concerned, these studies contributed in the first place to the keeping alive of the doctrine of the sphericity of the earth, which had been nearly forgotten in the 'Dark Ages' and without which the discovery of America would have been an impossibility." How important this fact is in the history of modern civilization, but how few people know of it ?

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when "the Rulers were a combination of priest and king or the magician and King", or in the later medieval ages of European history when the theory of divine right of monarchy was utilized for supporting the dynastic and hereditary claims of absolute monarchs. "Kings are justly called gods", said James I of England, "for they exercise a manner of resemblance of divine power one arth;" or again, "As it is atheism and blasphemy to dispute what God can do, so it is presumption and high contempt in a subject to dispute what a king can do or to say that a king cannot do this or that". It would be preposterous to think that the essentially democratic spirit of Islam would even tolerate the idea of placing a hallow of divinity round the person of a King. Even the Holy prophet was commanded by God to proclaim most emphatically that he was "a human being like yourselves", the only difference being that he was the receiver of 'Revelations.'

The true conception of government in Islam is that it is a trust from God and has to be discharged in accordance with the commands of God and within the framework of the Divine Law. Evidently this system contemplates a common-wealth where the people as a whole have the right and responsibility of creating a social structure based on the democratic principles laid down in the Quran and propounded by the Prophet. Even he (Holy Prophet) was directed to resort to consultation in matters of administration (H.Q.3: 158). The essence of this direction is in fact the essence of democracy, and according to it the right of evolving the system and form of government within the aforesaid limits belonged to the people (or *ummat*) alone. This is why the Prophet did not nominate a successor, leaving the choice of electing their Amir to the people themselves, Mawardi, one of the earliest political thinkers of Islam, is very clear and emphatic on this point when he discusses the question of the selection of the Imam or the Leader. To remove the possibility of misunderstanding that the elections of the pious Caliphs could create in the minds of later generations he expressly lays down that the people living in the town where the Imam happens to be have no preference over others in the matter of election. An elaborate system of election as known to us was not possible in those days of slow and faulty communications. To solve this difficulty the practice of *biat* was introduced, which in fact was a contract between the electors and the person elected. It is to be noted that *biat* contract of Islam was a concrete fact which could be accomplished through a set procedure only, unlike the social contract of western thinkers, which was imaginary. In the capital, *biat* was directly

offered to the person elected, but in the provinces and distant places a representative of the Amir took *biat* on behalf of the person elected. One could quote numerous instances from the history of early Islam to illustrate that the Prophet and his immediate successors attached the utmost importance to consultation or *Shura*. As to the practical form which the principle of consultation was to be given no strict rules were laid down for the obvious reason that conditions would differ from time to time and a rigid system, however efficient at one stage of civilization, could not prove effective at all stages. Substance and not the form was to be taken into consideration.

It is to be noted that from the very outset Islam accepted the principle of representation, giving no encouragement to the Greek ideal of direct democracy which was so enthusiastically advocated by Rousseau in the 18th Century. Experience has shown that direct democracy is unattainable in big states. One important point that distinguishes the democracy of Islam from all other systems that claim to be based on democratic ideals is that here the authority of the sovereign power is limited by certain fundamental laws and principles. The British Parliament, to quote the words of Dicey, is "so omnipotent, legally speaking . . . . . that it can adjudge an infant of full age, it may legitimise an illegitimate child, or, if it sees fit, make a man judge in his own case." The head of the Islamic State, or its legislature, on the contrary, can legislate but not in contradiction to the fundamentals of Islam. This was what Hazrat Abu Bakr meant when in his inaugural address after his election to the Caliphate he said, "Now it is beyond doubt that I have been elected your Amir, . . . . . Help me, if I am in the right; set me right, if I am in the wrong. . . . . Obey me as long as I obey Allah and His Prophet; when I disobey Him and His Prophet then obey me not." Similarly Hazrat Umar is said to have proclaimed on his assumption of office that he should be corrected by the people if he was found doing wrong. On hearing this an Arab rose up and said, "By Allah ! We shall correct you with our sword if we will find you going astray."

From the problems pertaining to the character and position of the government let us go to the field of social reform. Here we shall find that Islam revolutionized the fundamental concepts of society by not only preaching but actually practising the principles of freedom and equality which Europe adopted as late as the last quarter of the 18th century. On the occasion of the conquest of Mecca which is one of the most glorious

events of the history of Islam the Holy Prophet proclaimed from the doors of the *Kaabah* that, "the pride of the days of ignorance and distinction of birth were now destroyed by God; all human beings are descended from Adam".....Then he recited the well-known verse of the Quran which says that the only basis of honour in the eyes of God was virtue (49:13). These precepts, were strictly followed. The appointment of Zaid, a manumitted slave, as the first commander of the Muta expedition in the year 8 A.H. and again the appointment of his son, Usama, to lead the expedition which was to be sent to avenge the defeat of the Muslims are glorious instances of social justice which find no parallel in the history of the world. These are not rare cases. We hear of so many slaves and persons born in humble families rising to the highest positions in Islamic society. In the history of our own sub-continent we have a regular dynasty which is known as the "Slave dynasty" because most of the rulers belonging to it were originally slaves.

In showing tolerance to non-Muslim minorities the Muslims have always exhibited a generosity which was unthinkable in medieval Europe. The Prophet's charters to the Christians of Najran granting them complete liberty of faith and conscience and to the Jews of Medina will always constitute two of the most brilliant chapters in the history of mankind. "Let there be no compulsion in religion", says the Quran; and very rigidly was this injunction followed by the rulers and governments of Muslim States. The opening sentences of the Treaty of Jerusalem which was dictated by Hazrat Umar himself deserves to be reproduced as they contain the basic principles of State policy. They are; "This is the amnesty granted by the slave of God, Amirul Momineen, Umar, to the people of Elia. It is for the healthy, the sick and all their co-religionists and is in respect of their lives, property, their churches and their crosses, and is to this effect that their churches shall not be occupied, nor shall they be dismantled, nor shall they or their premises be damaged. Their crosses and their property shall not be reduced. In matters pertaining to religion they shall not be compelled, nor shall any injury be inflicted on them." Again in the firman issued by him to the people of Jurjan after its conquest the Caliph said: "We are in duty bound to give you protection." (Al Faruq, pp.,149,—150). Compare this with the treatment meted out to the minorities under other contemporary governments. "The non-Christians, Jews, heretics, or pagans—enjoyed, under Christian domination, a fitful existence. It was a matter of chance whether they would be massacred, or reduced to slavery. Rights they had none; enough

if they were suffered to exist..... The Jews might not eat or drink or sit at the same table with the Christians, nor dress like them, nor be ordered, at the same time, to be liable to be torn from their arms, their goods plundered, at the will of the baron or bishop, or a frenzied populace. And this state of things lasted until the close of the seventeenth century."

Gentlemen, I believe I have given enough illustrations from the history of Islam to show that the basis of Islamic State is an ideology which aims at bringing peace, happiness and prosperity to the world. It is, therefore, our duty to clarify through our writings as also through our actual living the true nature of the basic concepts of Islam.

The contribution made by the Muslims of the medieval ages to the growth and development of civilization has been simply remarkable. A modern writer, G. Sarton, admits that "the main task of mankind was accomplished by Muslims. The greatest philosopher, Al-Farabi was a Muslim; the greatest mathematicians, Abu Kamil and Al-Sinan were Muslims; the greatest geographer and encyclopaedist, Al-Masudi was a Muslim; the greatest historian, Al-Tabari think for a Muslim." With this enviable heritage we must pause and therefore, with a sense of urgency the historians should apply themselves to the task.

The work of research on the numerous problems of history, particularly with regard to the history of Islam and our Subcontinent, must begin immediately. It will be necessary to cover an extensive field and the work shall have to be undertaken on a systematic and planned basis. The Pakistan Historical Society in my opinion is eminently fit for coordinating and regulating historical research in our country. It has been in existence now for over a year but it has not been possible for it even to make a beginning with research for difficulties which are obvious. Research work entails vast expenditure and the Society needs a respectable fund to set up its research section. Central Government is receiving the Government of Punjab for a handsome grant and submitted a scheme which is in the consideration of the proper authorities. I have no doubt that in pursuance of its policy to encourage cultural activities the Government will help the Society, but it would not be advisable for the Society to depend entirely on State help. This is a national work and other learned bodies as well as the philanthropists and distinguished scholars will come



to the help of the Society and co-operate with it in its research activities. I appeal to all those who are interested in this field of our national activities to get themselves enrolled as life and ordinary members of the Society. A good library fully equipped with original authorities and manuscripts is one of our urgent requirements. The scheme of publishing our journal could not be given a practical shape because of lack of funds, and the bigger and more ambitious projects of preparing detailed histories of the Sub-continent and of Islam in general have not even been touched. Then comes the question of having our own building particularly suited to our needs and requirements. In short, our problems are many, but I have no reason to doubt that we shall overcome them all if we are determined to do so. For a nation which has built up the stable State of Pakistan in the face of numerous difficulties and bitter opposition, it is not impossible to achieve the objects that we have set before us. If we are earnest and sincere in our devotion to the cause of learning and our loyalty to Islam then our success is quite certain—*Insha Allah!*

## CLOSING SESSION.

The closing session of the second All Pakistan History Conference was held on Saturday, the 9th March, 1951, at 3-30 p.m. in the Senate Hall, Punjab University, Lahore. The Hon'ble Mr. Fazlur Rahman, President of the Society, was in the Chair.

The resolutions passed by the first All Pakistan History Conference were read out by the Hon'ble President who explained to the audience what action had been taken on them by the Pakistan Historical Society. After this members were allowed to put forward their suggestions and proposals, in the light of which the following resolutions were adopted.

1. (a) Resolved that a report of the work done by the Society during the course of the year be presented to the members of the Society at the time of the next Conference.  
 (b) Further resolved that the auditor's report on the accounts of the Society in the previous year should be incorporated in the report.
2. Resolved that the Society should adopt the financial year—1st April—31st March—as its official and business year.
3. Resolved that the Pakistan Historical Society should take immediate steps for the publication of the Society's Journal and should approach the Central Government for necessary funds.
4. Resolved that the members of the Society and contributors of the articles and papers be given complimentary copies of the Proceedings and off prints of their contributions on payment of the cost of paper, if they express a desire to that effect.
5. Resolved that members of the Pakistan Historical Society who attend a Conference as delegates of any institution or body should not be required to pay any delegation fee.
6. Resolved that this Conference authorises the Hon'ble President to fix the venue and dates of the next Conference.
7. Resolved that the Pakistan Historical Society should take necessary steps to create a liaison with Historical Societies of a similar nature in other Muslim countries.
8. Resolved that in view of the importance of Islamic History as the repository of our cultural traditions, this Conference recommends to

all the Universities of Pakistan to establish special professorial chairs for Islamic History.

As there was no other proposal the General Secretary rose to thank the authorities of the Punjab University for inviting the session of the Conference. He also thanked the Hon'ble President for accepting the office of the General President and taking a keen interest in the work of the Society. He concluded his short speech by thanking the Chairman and Members of the Reception Committee, the outgoing sectional Presidents and Secretaries, and the local workers and the delegates to the Conference for the trouble they had taken in making the session, a success.

S. MOINUL HAQ.

## REPORT OF THE LOCAL SECRETARY.

The Second All Pakistan History Conference opened on March 7th, 1952 and remained in session for three days. The University History Department and the Senate Hall of the Punjab University were scenes of huge congregations of scholars, public men, students and all others who were interested in the study of history. A most spectacular inaugural session, an exhibition of rare manuscripts and paintings, etc., three sectional meetings and three public lectures marked the highlights of the Conference.

Arrangements for this historic occasion were taken in hand early in November last year with the formation of an Organizing Committee which later merged itself into a Reception Committee. The Hon'ble Dr. Khalifa Shujauddin, Speaker, Punjab Legislative Assembly was unanimously chosen its chairman and it was under his able guidance that the Reception Committee carried out an elaborate and well planned programme.

Delegates from all over Pakistan and Bharat arrived in different batches by train and by plane on 5th and 6th of March, 1952. The Conference opened at 9-30 A.M. before a fairly representative gathering. All the Universities of Pakistan and the Central and Provincial Governments had sent their delegates. Mr. Saeed Raa'd Charge d' Affairs of Syria in Pakistan represented his country while Mr. Mohd. Ria'd an Egyptian scholar who was carrying on research on Mughal painting had specially come to participate in the deliberations of the Conference.

The Hon'ble Dr. Khalifa Shujauddin welcoming the Delegates congratulated them on their decision to meet in the city of Lahore which had been an important centre of Muslim life and thought ever since India opened its gates to the invincible warriors of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazna and had innumerable ties with the political and religious career of Islam in this sub-continent. His Excellency Mr. I. I. Chundrigar while inaugurating the Conference declared "that with the establishment of Pakistan it had become a national necessity to give to the history of Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent a meaning which would be a beacon-light for our future generations". He emphasised that "a Critical study of the causes and effects of past events materially helps us in solving future problems. History in this context stands as a teacher and endeavours to instruct..... The historian must have the capacity to make a calm and impartial survey

and to discern the casual<sup>1</sup> relationship between the past and the present". The Hon'ble Mr. Fazal-ur Rahman, Minister of Education, Government of Pakistan in his presidential address surveyed the richness of Muslim historical traditions and urged the scholars to seriously start the work of rewriting the history of Islam.

In the afternoon great attraction was provided by an exhibition of rare books, historical documents and manuscripts displayed in the Panjab University Library. The Hon'ble Justice Dr. S A. Rahman, Vice-Chancellor, Panjab University, opened the exhibition and acclaimed it as "a sample of our rich cultural heritage". He appreciated the co-operation extended by the Provisional Governments, learned institutions and enlightened individuals who lent their collections to be exhibited and expressed the hope that the exhibition would encourage people to preserve such valuable rarities. The largest number of exhibits, however, had been borrowed from the Panjab University Library. The Panjab Public Library, the Panjab Government Records office and the archives of the N.W.F.P. Government. Some of the most remarkable exhibits included a book on Islamic jurisprudence written in Kufi Script on deer skin and dating back to the year 412 Hijri, the final receipt of the sale of Kashmir in its original form, Sir John Lawrence's announcement of the annexation of the Panjab, an original petition of the poet Ghalib to Lord Auckland and a *firman* of the Emperor Aurangzeb.

The work of the students of the Lady MacLagan Training College for Women occupied a conspicuous place. The specimens were "an articulate commentary on the scientific methods which should be adopted in the teaching of history in Pakistan". The exhibition remained open for four days and was visited by the delegates, journalists and the public and invited favourable comments from all alike. The Honorary Librarian of the Panjab University Library and his staff deserve to be congratulated on this success for it was mainly through their efforts that the exhibition was organized in a short time.

In the evening a Reception was held in honour of the delegates by the Reception Committee in the University lawns where historians from both wings of Pakistan and reputed foreign scholars mixed with the educationists of the Panjab in an informal and friendly atmosphere provided by this occasion.

After the Reception the delegates walked to the Senate Hall of the Panjab University to hear an interesting Public lecture by Mr. Muhammad Masud, C.S.P. on the 'People of Pakistan'. Mr. Masud pointing to the ever widening gulf between the intellectuals and the masses maintained that the real culture of the people of Pakistan was reflected by the latter. The poverty stricken masses, he continued, were so deeply absorbed in their economic and social problems as to be indifferent to the spiritual aspect of life. Spiritualism was consequently losing its appeal among them. As to the language, Mr. Masud said that it was evolved and not made. Its development was always related to geographical and ethnical factors. "If we try to impose on the people an unnatural language, it will result in their physical degeneration", he asserted.

The Hon'ble Justice S. A. Rahman who presided over the lecture differed with the view that spiritualism had lost its appeal with the masses. He said that the human factor should not be ignored as people did not live by bread alone. Islam provided an ideological basis that was the governing factor in life.

After the lecture the distinguished guests were entertained to a dinner by the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Hon'ble Dr. Khalifa Shujauddin at his residence.

The Second day of the Conference opened with the inaugural meeting of the Museums Association of Pakistan. The Association, established in 1949, had been formed to promote the study of Museology in Pakistan. It held its first session at Karachi on the occasion of the First All Pakistan History Conference. The second session was properly timed to be held along with and as a part of the History Conference. The Hon'ble Sirdar Abdul Hamid Dasti, Minister for Education, Panjab, in his inaugural address stressed the need of organizing Museology as an integral and auxiliary discipline of History. "With the present stock of our museum treasures" he said "the history of Pakistan was far from being complete and revealed yawning gap". He wanted the people to become museum-minded and called for the launching of a museum movement for the purpose. They should not be just casual visitors, he remarked, but should go to museums in a spirit of pilgrimage to a centre of learning and enlightenment.

The meeting of the Islamic History Section took place at 10 A.M. in the Department of History of Punjab University. Moulvi Mohammad

Shafi, President of the Section, emphasised in his address the significance of the Islamic heritage and pointed out the responsibility which fell on the Muslim scholars in the writing of their History. In this connection he outlined a seven point programme and laid particular stress on the collection of manuscripts, publication of books and an historical Journal and preservation of archeological remains.

The following delegates and scholars then read out their papers.

1. Syed Sulaiman Nadvi, Karachi... "Bunderghah Daibul".
2. Mr. Saeed Raad, Charge d' "Islamic Contribution to the Affairs, Syrian Legation, Study and writing of History". Karachi.
3. Dr. Ameer Hasan Siddiqi "Conception of Sovereignty in Islamic State". Karachi.
4. Dr. Ata Mohyuddin, Central, "Some Cultural Aspects of the Training College, Lahore. Life of the people under the Caliph Abu Bakar".
5. Mr. Fazal Ahmad Quraishi, "Islamic Interpretation of History". Central Training College, Lahore.
6. Mr. Yousaf Abbas Hashmi, "Sovereignty in Islam in Theory and Practice". Islamia College, Karachi.
7. Mr. Abdul Qayoom, Govern- "Tarikh-i-Islam main Saqafti ment College, Lahore. Irtiqa "

The following papers were received and were taken read—

1. Mufti Intiazamullah Sahabi, "Ahd-e-Banu Umayya Main Karachi. Uloomo Funoon ka Zarreen Daur".
2. Prof. Nawab Ali, Karaehi .. "Turikh-e-Kalamullah".
3. M. Shamsuddin, U. S. A. ... "Anglo Egyptian Crisis-1951'."
4. Mohd. Rahim Dehlvi, Kara- "Khusro Shah". chi.
5. Dr. M. Abdul Qadir, Sylhet ... "Islamic Civilization in Europe."

The General Section opened at 2-30 p.m. and was presided over by Prof. Dilawar Husain who pointed out in his address that "objectivity in the writing of History was indefinable. The historian could not be absolutely objective inspite of his best efforts because he would always be "influenced by his religious dogma, philosophical beliefs and environmental setting". History had till recently been the handmaid of authority and it would be appreciated if the cloak of authority could be removed. Half a dozen extremely interesting papers were read out.

1. Dr. M. Abdul Haque, Principal, "History of Dentistry"  
pal, de Montmorency  
College, Lahore.
2. Mr. Abid Ali Abid, Principal, "Alfaz main Tarikh".  
Dayal Singh College, Lahore.
3. Mr. Zafarul Islam, Research "New Historiography".  
Scholar, University of the  
Punjab, Lahore.
4. Syed Asgh. Haider, Lecturer, "New Historical Sense".  
Government College, Mont-  
gomery.
5. Mr. Wahid-ud-Din Qadri, "Waterloo".  
Urdu College, Karachi.
6. Dr. N. R. Hanna, University of "An Outline History of Medical  
the Punjab, Lahore. Science",

In the afternoon the delegates were entertained to tea by H. E. the Governor of the Punjab in the Government House.

Later in the evening a public lecture was delivered in the Senate Hall by Prof. Ilmud Din Salik on "Kashmir under Sikhs and Dogras." The Hon'ble Dr. Mahmud Husain, Minister for Kashmir Affairs Government of Pakistan presided. Prof. Salik gave a vivid picture of the History of Kashmir under the two last regimes. He explained how both the Sikh and Dogra rulers had exploited the state to further their family interests quite oblivious of the sufferings of their subjects. He dwelt at length on the circumstances leading to the present impasse and deplored the abysmal degradation to which the politics of the "Valley of Paradise" had sunk.



After the lecture the delegates attended a 'dinner arranged in their honour by Mr C Latif, Managing Director Batala Engineering Company, Lahore

The Indo Pakistan History Section opened on March 9th Hon'ble Dr Mahmud Husain deprecated in his presidential address the prejudicial attitude of foreign writers towards the history of Indo Pakistan sub continent and recommended a thorough check up of our original sources and preparation of sound text books

The following papers had been received for this section and were read out in two sittings

- 1 Dr Khadija Ferozuddin, "Aurangzeb's Dealings with the  
Lahore Frontier Tribal Chiefs "
- 2 K B Maulvi Zafar Hasan, "Moti Masjid or the Pearl Mos  
Lahore que in the Lahore Fort "
- 3 Hon ble Dr I H Qureshi, "Village Economy in the Indo  
Karachi Pakistan Sub-continent during  
the Middle Ages "
- 4 Principal Abdul Qayyum Malik, "Popular Education in Pre  
Lahore Mughal India "
- 5 Prof Sh Abdur Rashid, Ali "Some Chishti Saints of Ben-  
garh gal "
- 6 Dr S A Halim, Dacca "Mirza Zulqarnain, a Christian  
Poet and Musician of the  
Mughal Court "
- 7 Dr S Moinul Haq, Karachi "Shaikh Abdul Quddus  
Gangoh "
- 8 Dr Mohd Salim, Karachi "The attitude of Chishti Sain'  
towards Political Power "
- 9 Dr Agha Abdus Sattar, "Aramshah Bin Arbak '  
Lahore
- 10 Dr M Abdullah Chughtai, "Pre-Mughal Architectural Re-  
Lahore mains of Lahore "

11. Dr. Kh. A. Haye, Kakul ... "A Character Study of Amir Dost Mohammad Khan Barakzai.
12. Syed Mohd. Sarwar Zaidi, Mianwali. "Babur the Humane and Just".
13. Mr. Abdul Rafay Khan, Karachi. "Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan's Political Ideas and Activities".
14. Mr. Mahmudul Hasan Siddiqi, Karachi. "The History of the First Portuguese Settlement in Bengal".
15. Mr. Nizamuddin Ahmad, Rajshahi. "Architectural Evolution in East Pakistan".
16. Mr. Iftikar Ahmad Khan, Govt. College, Dera Ghazi Khan. "Jahangir's Responsibility for the murder of Sher Afgan".
17. Syed Muzaffaruddin Nadvi Chittagong. "A peep into the History of Chittagong".

The following papers were taken as read :—

1. Miss N. J. Taimuri, Lahore ... "Jehan Ara's Influence in Mughul Court".
2. Dr. Riazul Islam, Karachi ... "A note on Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi".
3. Prof. Mohd. Shujauddin, Lahore. "Syed Mohammed Qasim 'Ibrat".
4. Mr. S. M. Yusuf Shami, Lahore. The North West Frontier Policy of Memluki Kings".
5. Mirzâ Ali Azhar, Karachi ... "Nawab Saadat Ali Khan and the East India Company".
6. Mr. A. H. Dani, Dacca ... "Bengal as noted in Hududul-'Alam".
7. M. Mansuruddin Sylhet ... "Further Muslim Folk-Songs of Eastern Bengal".
8. M. Zahurul Islam, Chittagong "Mughal Conquest of Bengal".
9. Mr. M. N. Dhalla, Karachi ... "Ancient Iran names our sub-continent".
10. Prof. Dharma Bhanu, Muzafar Nagar. "The Mughal Maratha Treaty of April, 1752".

In the afternoon a business meeting was held in the Senate Hall and was presided over by the General President—Hon'ble Mr. Fazlur Rahman. The Joint Secretary read out the resolutions passed at the First Conference together with the action that had been taken thereon. Some of the delegates then pointed out that the Ad Hoc Committee which was controlling the affairs of the Pakistan Historical Society had existed too long and should be replaced by a proper body with duly elected office-bearers. Prof. A. B. A. Haleem, the General Secretary, thereupon explained that the membership of the Society had not yet become very large, and as soon as the number became sufficient the Ad Hoc Committee would be dissolved and new office bearers would be elected. A number of new resolutions were then approved.

After the meeting the delegates attended a farewell tea party held in their honour by the Vice-Chancellor and members of the Syndicate of the Punjab University.

The three day Conference was concluded with a lecture by Hon'ble Dr. I. H. Qureshi, Minister for Information and Refugees, on "Administrative problems of Modern Democracies". The Hon'ble Sardar Abdul Hamid Dasti presided. Dr. Qureshi in a forceful speech stressed the integrity and impartiality of permanent administration which he said must keep the balance between all sections of people and should be free to discard political pressure from whichever quarter it came. The duty of the administration was to carry out the policy laid down by the elected representatives of the people. All politicians, he said, who interfered with the permanent services were really digging the grave of democracy. Likewise all public servants who tried to frame policies and meddle with policies were doing the same thing. Democracy according to him was an effort to carry on "Government by compromise".

HAMEEDUDDIN.

SECTION I

# ISLAMIC HISTORY

## خطبہ صدارت شعبہ تاریخ اسلام

پروفیسر محمد شفیع صدر شعبہ دائرہ معارف اسلامیہ (اردو)

پنجاب یونیورسٹی

خواتین و حضرات

منت پذیر ہوں کہ پاکستان ہسٹاریکل کانفرنس کے شعبہ تاریخ اسلام کی صدارت کا شرف مجھے کو بخشا گیا۔

اس کانفرنس کے دوسرے اجلاس کے لئے لاہور کا انتخاب بہت ہی موزوں و مناسب ہے۔ لاہور کو پاکستان و ہند کی تاریخ سے بہت گہرا تعلق ہے اور چوتھی صدی ہجری کے راولاخر سے لے کر تقریباً ہر دور کے نقوش و آثار بعض دھندلے اور بعض روشن پس یہاں موجود ہیں، مگر ان میں سے بعض بغایت نادر بلکہ بے مثال ہیں۔

لاہور کا ذکر واضح طور پر سلاطین غزنہ کے عہد سے شروع ہوتا ہے۔ بقول فرشتہ ۵۴۳ھ میں غزنویوں کے مقرر کردہ گورنر نے لاہور میں رہنا شروع کیا اور گیارہ برس بعد بعہد سلطان مودود ۵۴۳ھ میں ملک ایاز کو یہاں کی حکومت سرف ہوئی اور اس نے لاہور میں پختہ قلعہ بنوایا۔ شہر کے اندر ایک قبر موجود ہے، جس کو ملک ایاز کی قبر بتلاتے ہیں۔ واللہ اعلم۔ فتوحات غزنویہ کے ساتھ ساتھ ان حدود میں وسط ایشیا سے اسلام کے مبلغ بھی پہنچے۔ ان میں سے فضل تقدم شيخ اسماعيل بخاري کو حاصل ہے، جو چوتھی صدی ہجری کے آخر میں یہاں آئے اور پچاس برس سے زائد خلق خدا کو اسلام کا پیغام پہنچانے میں مصروف رہے۔ ان کی زندگی کے آخری سالوں میں خواجہ حسین زنجانی اس شہر میں ان کے معاصر تھے۔ جناب زنجانی کی قبر بھی لاہور ہی میں ہے ان کی وفات کے متصل بعد بروایت حضرت خواجہ نظام الدین اولیاء شیخ علی ہجویری رح یہاں پہنچے اور یہیں ان کا وصال ہوا۔ چشتی کی اطلاع کے مطابق ان

کے مزار پر جو گل کار مرمر لگا ہوا ہے، وہ ابراہیم بن مسعود غزنوی کے زمانہ کی یادگار ہے۔

انہیں بزرگوں اور ان کے ہم کاروں نے ان اطراف کو نور اسلام سے منور کیا۔

عہد غزنویہ کے لاہور کے متعلق بعض اطلاعات فخرالدین مبارک شاہ نے بہم پہنچائی ہیں۔ مثلاً یہ کہ یہاں ایک محلہ عرب تھا۔ ہندو راجہ نے قلعہ لاہور وہیں بنایا تھا۔ اس قلعہ میں محمود نے ایک منارہ بنوایا۔ شہر میں ایک مسجد حبشی بھی تھی۔ ان عمارتوں کے آثار اب ناپید ہیں۔

مسعود ثالث غزنوی کے عہد میں یعنی ۵۴۹ھ اور ۵۵۰ھ کے درمیان لاہور غزنویوں کا دارالسلطنت بنا۔ سمعانی صاحب کتاب الانساب (جو چھٹی صدی ہجری میں لکھی گئی) لوهوور یا لاہور کو شہر بسیار خیر بتاتا ہے اور کہتا ہے کہ یہاں سے علماء کی ایک جماعت اٹھی۔ اس نے لاہور کے دو محدثوں کے نام لئے ہیں، جو چھٹی صدی کے نصف اول میں فوت ہوئے۔ انکی بہت تعریف کی ہے۔ ایک کو شیخ ادیب، شاعر، کثیرالمحفوظ، ملیح المحاورہ بتایا ہے۔ اور دوسرے کو فقیہ مناظر۔ اس دوسرے سے سمعانی نے خود اسفرائین میں ملاقات کی اور حدیث سنی۔

اسی چھٹی صدی میں (۵۸۳ھ میں) سلطان معزالدین محمد سام غوری نے لاہور کو فتح کر کے اپنی سلطنت میں شامل کر لیا۔

مبارک شاہ مورخ مذکور غزنہ سے آکر لاہور میں بس گیا تھا۔ اس نے ۶۰۲ھ میں چند حوادث کا ذکر کیا ہے، جو اس سال پے درپے یہاں پیش آئے۔ سلطان معزالدین لاہور آکر ٹھہرا اور کچھ دن کے بعد غزنہ کو روانہ ہو گیا۔ جب دسک میں پہنچا، تو اسکو شہید کر دیا گیا۔ یہ خب لاہور اور دہلی پہنچی۔ دہلی سے اس خبر کو سنکر خریف ۶۰۲ھ میں ملک قطب الدین ایبک لاہور پہنچا اور شہر کے قصر ہمایوں، میں ٹھہرا۔ لاہور ہی میں، جس کو یہ مصنف ”مرکز اسلام ہند، اور ”ثانی دارالملک

غزنین، کہتا ہے، بالآخر قطب الدین ایبک ۸۶۰ء میں فوت اور دفن ہوا۔

چنگیزی مغلوں کے ہاتھوں ملک پر بار بار تباہی آئی۔ ہندوستان کی تاریخوں میں جن حملوں کا ذکر ہے، انکے علاوہ ایلاخانوں کے وزیر رشید الدین فضل اللہ نے ایک اور حملہ کا بھی ذکر کیا ہے، جس میں اسکے لڑکے جلال نے قلعہ لاہور کو فتح کیا۔ تیمور کے حملے کے زمانہ میں بھی لاہور کو بہت نقصان پہنچا اور مدنوں تک اس میں بے رونقی رہی۔ البتہ لودھیوں کے دور میں تاتارخان نے اسکو اپنا دارالحکومت بنایا۔

لاہور کے کامل عروج کا زمانہ آل بابر کے ساتھ وابستہ ہے۔ پہلے مرزا کامران بن بابر یہاں مقیم ہوا، پھر اکبر نے قریباً ۱۵ سال (۹۹۴ تا ۱۰۰۷ھ) یہاں قیام کیا، قلعہ لاہور کی مرمت اور توسیع کی، اس میں دولت خانہ بنایا، شہر پناہ بنائی۔ جہانگیر کے عہد میں تو اس شہر کو مغلوں کے دوسرے دارالسلطنت کا مرتبہ حاصل ہوا، تجارت اور آبادی اور ثروت اور رونق اتنی بڑھی کہ دہلی اور آگرہ کی طرح یہ سلطنت مغلیہ کا تیسرا نامور شہر قرار پایا۔ شاہجہاں کے عہد میں معموری شہر میں بیشتر اضافہ ہوا اور ہنر پیشگان ہر دیار اور صنعت گراں روزگار اس میں جمع ہوئے اور اجناس ہفت کشور اور اسیای بحر و ترک خرید و فروخت اس میں ہونے لگی۔

عہد سلطان عالمگیر کے چوتھے سال میں دریا نے عمارت اور باغات کو نقصان پہنچایا، اسلئے وہ بند بنایا گیا، جس کے کچھ آثار اب بھی باقی ہیں۔

مغلیہ درو کی یادگار عمارتیں: مقابر مساجد اور باغات کے آثار شہر اور اسکے نواح میں جا بجا ملتے ہیں۔ خود قلعہ لاہور میں اکبر سے اورنگ زیب کے عہد تک کی عمارتیں موجود ہیں، خصوصیت سے اس کی مغربی دیوار، کواکشی کار تصاویر سے آرائنگ چین بنادیا گیا ہے۔ شہر میں متعدد اکاشی کار عمارتیں اور بھی ہیں، جو زیادہ تر عہد شاہجہانی

سے تعلق رکھتی ہیں، مگر ان میں شیخ موسیٰ آہنگر کا مقبرہ اس عہد سے پہلے کا ہے۔ ان عمارتوں پر علاوہ کاشی کاری کے کمال کے ثلث، نسخ اور نستعلیق (جلی و خفی) کی بلند پایہ خطاطی کے نمونہ بھی موجود ہیں۔ جن میں بعض پر خطاطوں کے نام بھی درج ہیں۔

حاصل اس گفتگو کا یہ ہے کہ لاہور اپنی تاریخی اہمیت کی وجہ سے اس تاریخی کانفرنس کے انعقاد کے لئے بہت موزوں پس منظر پیش کر رہا ہے۔

علم تاریخ پر جو احسان مسلمانوں نے کیا اور اسکے ذریعہ جو خدمت بنی نوع انسان کی انجام دی، اس پر مسلمان بجا طور پر فخر کرسکتے ہیں۔ یہ ان کا کارنامہ ہے کہ انہوں نے ابتدا ہی سے تاریخ نویسی کا ایسا تصور قائم کیا، جو انہی کے ساتھ خاص ہے۔ علامہ سیخاوی نے تاریخ کی تعریف یہ کی ہے کہ تاریخ وہ فن ہے، جس میں وقائع زماں بلکہ وقائع عالم سے باعتبار تعین و تخصیص و تحدید وقت بحث ہوتی ہے۔ اس تعریف سے ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ اسلامی۔ مورخ تاریخ کو بیان وقائع تو سمجھتے ہی تھے، مگر تعین و تحدید وقت کو اس کے ساتھ لازم جانتے تھے۔

ابتدائے اسلام سے وقائع کو بقید تاریخ بیان کرنے کو اتنا اہم کیوں قرار دیا گیا؟ اس کے کئی وجوہات تھے۔ منجملہ انکے یہ تین تھے:

(۱) تنقید رجال حدیث کے نقطہ نظر سے یہ جاننا ضروری تھا کہ دو راویوں میں ملاقات ممکن تھی یا نہیں۔ اگر دونوں کی تاریخ وفات معلوم ہو، تو ان کے زمانہ کے تعین میں مدد ملتی ہے۔ چنانچہ سفیان سوری رد فرماتے ہیں: جب راوی جھوٹ استعمال کرتے ہیں، تو ہم انکے لئے تاریخ استعمال کرتے ہیں، یعنی ان کے بیان کو جانچنے کے لئے ہم یہ دیکھتے ہیں کہ جس سے روایت کرنے کا دعویٰ کیا جا رہا ہے، وہ تاریخی اعتبار سے ممکن ہے کہ نہیں۔

(۲) بلاذری نے بعض احادیث کی رو سے لکھا ہے کہ حضرت عمر رضی اللہ عنہ ۵۲ میں جب دیوان مدون کرنیکا ارادہ



کیا، تو اسکو بنی ہاشم سے شروع کیا۔ جو زیادہ قریب تھے، ان کو پہلے رکھا۔ جو کم قریب تھے انکو بعد میں، و علیٰ ہذا، اور جو اہل سوابق و مشاہد تھے، ان کو عطاء میں ترجیح دی۔ یہ صورت تبہی ممکن تھی کہ لوگوں کے اسلام قبول کرنیکی تاریخ معلوم ہو اور ان کے مختلف مشاہد میں شریک ہونے کا پتہ چل سکے۔

(۳) تاریخ پر بہت سے احکام کا مدار ہے۔ طبری نے ”قل ہی موافقت للناس“ کی تفسیر میں لکھا ہے : یعنی ان کے دین روزے اور افطار اور مسائل عدت وغیرہ اور اداء قرض اور اجیروں کی اجرت وغیرہ کے متعلق۔

مختصر یہ کہ تاریخ نویسی کا تصور جو بیان ہوا، وہ خالص اسلامی چیز ہے۔ جاہلیت میں اس قسم کی کوئی چیز نہ تھی۔

اسلامی دور میں جاہلیت سے چند زبانی روایات پہنچی تھیں، جو بیشتر ایام العرب اور انساب سے تعلق رکھتی تھیں اور ایک قلیل تعداد کتبات کی تھی، جو شمالی عرب میں کم ہیں اور یمن میں زیادہ۔ مگر ان کتبات میں تاریخی مواد بہت کم ہے، اور عرب مصنفین نے ان کو بہت کم استعمال کیا ہے۔ بنو امیہ کے عہد میں انساب پر زیادہ توجہ ہوئی۔ کتاب المعارف اور کتاب الفہرست میں نسابوں اور اخباریوں یعنی مؤرخوں کا ایک ہی باب بنایا گیا ہے۔ ان میں سے بعض صرف نساب ہیں، بعض نساب اور اخباری اور بعض اخباری۔ یہ روایات جاہلیت کے جمع کرنے والے زیادہ تر نصری اور کوفی ہیں اور ان میں ابن الکلبی (م ۲۰۴) کے کام کی علمی حیثیت بہت بلند ہے، کیونکہ اس فاضل نے، جس پر حضارت عربیہ فخر کر سکتی ہے، نہ صرف جاہلیت کے بہت سے شوارد و اوابد کے متعلق زبانی روایات کو مقید کیا، بلکہ لخمیوں اور ان کے دارالحکومت حیرہ کے متعلق تحریری مصادر کو بھی استعمال کیا اور حیرہ کے گرجوں میں کلیسائی دست آویزوں کا مطالعہ کیا اور بعض پہلوی ماخذ کی اطلاعات کو ترجمہ کرا کر اپنی کتاب الحیرہ میں درج کیا۔

لیکن علم تاریخ کو علمی حیثیت حقیقتاً سیرت نبوی کے مطالعہ کے سلسلہ میں حاصل ہوئی۔ اولاً اس زمانہ میں کتب مبعث و مغازی مرتب ہوئیں۔ ان میں سے مغازی موسیٰ بن عقبہ اسدی تابعی اس فن کی قدیم ترین کتاب ہے، جو ہم تک پہنچی۔ پھر اس قسم کے مواد سے محمد بن اسحاق مطلبی المدنی التابعی (م ۱۵۰) نے کتاب السیرۃ و المبتدا و المغازی لکھی، جو ابن ہشام کی تہذیب و تنقیح کے بعد اس فن کی متعدد اور کتابوں میں سے معول علیہ بنی۔ اسکے بعد واقدی کے شاگرد محمد بن سعد کاتب الواقدی (م ۳۳۰) نے کتاب الطبقات الکبیر لکھی، جسکا ابتدائی حصہ (یعنی مطبوعہ ایڈیشن کی جلد اول و دوم) تو سیرت نبوی کے ساتھ خاص ہے، مگر جس میں زیادہ تر سیر الصحابہ اور تابعین کے متعلق وہ مواد دیا ہے، جس پر علم الرجال کی بنیاد رکھی گئی، وہ علم رجال جس نے تاریخی مسائل میں تنقید کا عنصر داخل کیا اور تاریخ کو علم یا سائنس بنا کر اس کو انتہائی جلالت قدر بخشی۔

العز ابن جماعتہ کہتے ہیں :

اعتقادی احکام اور فقہی مسائل ہادی (برحق ص) کے کلام سے ماخوذ ہیں، جس نے گمراہی سے نکالا اور کوی اور جہالت کو رفع کیا، راوی ہمارے اسکے درمیان واسطہ ہیں۔ لہذا ان کے متعلق بحث اور ان کے احوال کے متعلق تحقیق واجب ہے۔ اس پر سب کو اتفاق ہے۔ وہ علم جو اس امر کا کفیل ہے، وہ علم تاریخ ہے۔ اسلئے بعض نے کہا ہے کہ علم تاریخ ان فرضوں میں سے ہے، جنکو فرض کفایہ کہتے ہیں۔ اسی طرح السخاوی کہتے ہیں کہ علم تاریخ فنون حدیث نبوی میں سے ایک فن ہے۔ مختصر یہ کہ علم حدیث نے تاریخ اسلام پر گہرا اثر ڈالا، اس میں طریق اسناد و تنقید رجال داخل کیا اور طبقات نویسی کے فن کو درجہ اول کی حیثیت دیدی۔

پہلے اجمالاً ذکر آچکا ہے کہ ابتدا میں، یعنی پہلی دو صدیوں میں تاریخ نویسی کے متعلق عراق میں بہت کام ہوا۔ یہی وجہ ہے عراق کا اثر تاریخ اسلام پر چھایا ہوا ہے۔ چنانچہ بقول ابن ندیم ابو

مخفف نے عراف اور اسکی تاریخ اور اسکے فتوح کے متعلق اوروں سے زیادہ معلومات بہم پہنچائے، اور مدائنی نے خراسان و ہند و فارس کے متعلق تخصص پیدا کیا۔ مگر عراف کے علاوہ مورخوں کا ایک دستاں مدینہ منورہ سے متعلق ہے، جنہوں نے خصوصیت سے عہد راشدین کے متعلق نہایت قیمتی مواد جمع کیا، جو واقدی اور دوسرے مورخوں نے اپنی کتاب میں محفوظ کیا۔ چنانچہ ابن ندیم ہی کا بیان ہے کہ حجاز اور سیرت کے باب میں واقدی کی معلومات بہترین ہیں۔

دوسری صدی کے آخر میں عالم اسلامی کی علمی تحریکوں نے بیش از بیش قوت پکڑی۔ منجملہ اور اسباب کے ایک سبب یہ تھا کہ اب کاغذ عام طور پر ملنے لگا تھا۔ کاغذ سازی کا پہلا کارخانہ بغداد میں ۸۷۸ء میں بنا۔ تیسری صدی سے زبانی روایات کی بجائے تحریری یادداشتیں مرتب کرنیکا رواج عام ہوا۔ اسی زمانہ میں علی بن محمد المدائنی نے سیرت، فتوحات اسلامی، خلافت اور اخبار قریش پر کتابیں اور رسالے لکھے، جنکی تعداد ابن ندیم کی کتاب الفہرست میں ۲۳۴ ہے۔ ان میں بعض کتابوں کے نام اس فہرست میں مکرر آگئے ہیں۔ اور بعض غالباً چھوٹے چھوٹے رسالے تھے۔ پھر بھی ان کی تعداد اس مورخ کے نشاط کار، محنت اور تلاش کی دلیل ہے۔ یہ کتابیں سوائے ایک آدھ کے ناپید ہیں۔ تاہم تنقید صحیح اور صحت سند کی وجہ سے بلاذری اور طبری نے ان کے قیمتی مواد کو اپنی کتابوں میں ضم کر لیا۔ اور جب وہ یکجا ہو گیا، تو لوگوں نے مدائنی کے متفرق رسالوں کے نقل کرنے کی ضرورت نہ سمجھی اور وہ نایاب ہو گئے۔

اس زمانے، یعنی تیسری صدی سے تاریخ کا شوق مسلمانوں میں عام ہو گیا اور علم تاریخ ثقافت اسلامی کا جز بن گیا۔ اور جہاں مسلمان پہنچے، یہ شوق ان کے ساتھ پہنچا، اور جن ملکوں اور مہذب یا غیر مہذب قوموں کی مکتوب تاریخ اسلامی فتوحات سے پہلے سرے سے موجود ہی نہ تھی یا نہ ہونے کے برابر تھی، وہاں اسلام اور مسلمانوں کے بعد تاریخ نویسی شروع ہو گئی۔ مثلاً ایران کا حال۔ ملاحظہ فرمائیں۔ اسلامی زمانے سے پہلے ایرانی قومی روایت کا مجموعہ خدای نامہ میں

موجود تھا لیکن اسمیں باسٹثنائی عہد ساسانیوں بیشتر افسانوی اشخاص کا ذکر ہے، اوستا کی حکایات ہیں یا قصہ سکندر و دارا کی دھندلی سی یاد ہے، اور خود ساسانیوں کے عہد کی کہانی میں بھی صحیح روایات پر اکثر رزم نگاری کے جوش اور شاعرانہ مبالغے نے پردہ سا ڈال دیا ہے۔ لیکن اسلامی زمانے کے بعد ایران میں بے شمار تاریخیں لکھی گئیں، اور اس دور کے کم و بیش ہر شاہی خاندان کی تاریخ جس نے ایران کے کسی حصے میں بھی حکومت کی، اجمال یا تفصیل کے ساتھ وجود میں آئی۔ اسی طرح ہندوستان بھی عزنوی دور کے بعد ہی پوری طرح سے تاریخ کی روشنی میں آتا ہے۔ اس سے پہلے دور کے متعلق تاریخی مواد زیادہ تر کتبوں، سکوں وغیرہ کی شکل ہی میں ملتا ہے۔ افریقہ کی بعض وحشی قوموں کو لیں، جنکے ہاں کسی قسم کا کوئی لٹریچر نہ تھا، نہ مواد تاریخی موجود تھا، مکتوب تاریخی تھیں، لیکن انکے ہاں بھی انکے اسلامی دور سے تاریخیں لکھی جانے لگیں۔ یہ بھی معلوم ہے کہ اہل ملایا کے پاس بھی انکے اسلام لانے سے پہلے کا کوئی لٹریچر موجود نہیں اور انکا تاریخی اور غیر تاریخی لٹریچر اسلامی زمانے ہی سے شروع ہوتا ہے۔

ابھی ذکر ہوا تھا کہ تیسری صدی سے مسلمانوں میں تاریخ کا شوق عام ہوا۔

فی الحقیقت تیسری صدی کا زمانہ ادب عربی کے اعتبار سے نہایت شاندار زمانہ ہے۔ اس میں علم کی ہر شاخ پر مستند کتابیں لکھی گئیں، تاریخ میں اس سے پہلے انساب، اخبار فتوح اور طبقات کا زور تھا۔ اب تاریخ عام لکھی جانے لگی۔ گو فتوح اور اخبار عرب و انساب و طبقات اور تاریخ بلدان پر بھی عمدہ عمدہ کتابیں لکھی گئیں۔ اس زمانے کا نامور ترین مورخ محمد بن جریر الطبری ہے، جس کی تاریخ میں عربوں کے قدیم محدثانہ رنگ کی تاریخ نویسی اپنے منتہای کمال کو پہنچی۔ طبری نے اپنی پہلی تفسیر میں مواد تفسیر کو پوری تفصیل اور نقد روایات کی پوری پابندی کے ساتھ یکجا جمع کیا۔ پھر مواد تاریخ کو بھی اسی تفصیل اور تنقید روایات کے بعد یکجا کیا اور اس خوبی اور جامعیت کے ساتھ جمع کیا کہ اسکے بعد کسی کو حوصلہ ہی نہ ہوا

کہ اسلام کے ابتدائی دور کی تاریخ کے مواد کو مورد بحث و تمحیص بنائے اور اس کو از سر نو مرتب کرنے کے بعد کے آنے والوں نے یا تو تاریخ طبری کا اختصار کیا یا داستان تاریخ وہاں سے شروع کی، جہاں سے طبری نے اسکو چھوڑا تھا۔ مثلاً بلعمی نے فارسی میں اور ابن الاثیر نے تاریخ کامل میں۔ گو ابن الاثیر نے مغرب کے حالات اور طبری کے قریب زمانے کے حالات زیادہ تفصیل سے لکھے کہ یہ حصہ تاریخ طبری کا تسننہ رہ گیا تھا۔ طبری کی تاریخ نویسی کی شرط یہ تھی کہ وہ ہر واقعہ کا حال کسی شاہد عینی یا معاصر سے نقل کرے۔ اگر ایک ہی واقعہ کی کئی روایات اس کو پہنچی ہیں تو اس نے غیر جانبداری سے ان کو علی الترتیب انہی کتاب میں درج کر دیا ہے۔ اس سے فائدہ یہ ہوا کہ مخالف و موافق مواد کو بلا تصرف انصاف و دیانت کے ساتھ اس نے ہم تک پہنچا دیا۔ اس لحاظ سے اس کی تاریخ ماضی کی اصل دستاویزوں کا ایک قیمتی اور نادر مجموعہ ہے۔

طبری نے اپنی تاریخ میں سنہ ۳۰۲ تک کے وقائع بیان کئے ہیں۔ سنہ ۳۰۳ کی پہلی سہ ماہی کے آخر میں کتاب ختم ہوئی اس سے تیس برس بعد یعنی سنہ ۳۳۳ میں مسعودی نے مروج الذهب لکھی اور اس کے دیباچے میں اپنے زمانے تک اٹھاسی بڑے بڑے مورخوں کے نام شمار کئے،

یہ چوتھی صدی کی بات ہے۔ آٹھویں صدی ہجری کے نصف اول میں حافظ ذہبی ۴۸۰ھ نے تاریخ کی چالیس قسمیں شمار کی ہیں۔ اور اسی صدی کے نصف آخر میں حافظ مغنطای نے ایک ہی نجی کتاب خانے میں قریباً ایک ہزار کتابیں تاریخ کی دیکھیں، غالباً یہ سب عربی میں تھیں۔ اور ان میں سے بعض کئی کئی جلد میں ہونگی۔ اس سے اندازہ ہو سکتا ہے کہ تاریخ نویسی کے میدان میں کس قدر وسعت پیدا ہو چکی تھی، حافظ سخاوی ۹۰۲ھ نے اسی (۸۰) سے زیادہ صفحوں میں مختلف قسم کی عربی تاریخوں اور کتب سوانح کی فہرست دی ہے۔ جنکے مضامین حسب ذیل ہیں : سیرت نبوی، قصص الانبیاء، تاریخ صحابہ، تاریخ خلفاء و ملوک و دول، تاریخ وزراء و فقہاء قراء و حفاظ و محدثین و مورخین و نحاہ و ادباء، تاریخ شعراء و عباد و صوفیا و قضاہ، تاریخ مغنیں، تاریخ اشراف و اطباء و

اشاعرہ و مبتدعہ و موالی، احوال متصفین بوصف مخصوص مثلاً سست بینائی  
وانے، ناپینای یک چشم، ناپینا، متصفین بہ بخل و تطفیل، تاریخ ثقات و  
ضعفاء، تاریخ بلدان،

العز ابن الاثیر م ۶۰۶ نے کامل میں لکھا ہے کہ تاریخ دنیا اور  
دین کے نفع پر شامل ہے، دنیاوی نفع یہ ہے کہ اخبار گذشتگان اور حوادث  
متقدمین کا حال پڑھیں تو گویا ہم اُس زمانے کے لوگوں کو انکے معاصروں  
کی نظر سے دیکھنے لگتے ہیں۔ ملوک و حکام انجام اہل جور و عدوان  
اور انکی بدناسی اور بلاد کی بربادی اور نقصان مال و جان کا حال پڑھتے  
ہیں تو جور و عدوان سے پرہیز کرتے ہیں اور اچھی سیرتوں کی خوبیوں  
سے متاثر ہو کر ان کی پیروی اختیار کرتے ہیں۔ اس کے علاوہ صائب رائیں  
اور عمدہ نکات انکو مطالعہ تاریخ سے ملتے ہیں۔ حوادث اور انجام کی  
پہچان حاصل ہوتی ہے اکثر یہ ہوتا ہے کہ جو امر قاری کو پیش آیا وہی  
یا اُس جیسا امر اس سے پہلے کسی اور کو بھی پیش آیا۔ اس طرح سے دوسروں  
کے تجارب سے ہم منتفع ہو سکتے ہیں اور اپنی مشکلات کا حل سوچ سکتے  
ہیں اور یہ تمام امور عقل کو روشن کرتے ہیں، اسکے علاوہ تاریخی نکات  
و طرائف مجالس و محافل میں جاذب توجہ ہوتے ہیں، یہ ہے دنیا کا فائدہ،  
آخرت کا فائدہ یہ ہے کہ عاقل لیب کو قلب دنیا اور اہل دنیا سے عبرت  
حاصل ہوتی ہے اور آنکھوں کے پردے اٹھتے ہیں اور حقائق واضح طور پر  
نظر آنے لگتے ہیں۔

ابن الاثیر کے بیان کردہ فوائد سے یہ بھی ظاہر ہوتا ہے کہ جن مقاصد  
عالیہ کو پیش نظر رکھ کر تاریخیں لکھی جاتی تھیں وہ کیا تھے، ظاہر ہے  
کہ ان میں ترغیب و ترہیب، افزایش نشاط اور پیدایش آرزومندی، اور  
پند دہی اور تسلی تاسی اور انداز و اعتبار شامل تھے، مگر عامۃ الناس کے  
حالات پر عموماً زیادہ توجہ نہ تھی، فلسفہ تاریخ صرف اس حد تک پیش  
نظر تھا کہ وقائع کے متکرر ہونے کا احساس تھا، اور ماضی پر مستقبل کو  
قیاس کرنے کا خیال موجود تھا۔

لیکن فلسفہ تاریخ پر پوری توجہ آٹھویں صدی کے مورخ ابن خلدون  
نے دی جس نے اپنی تاریخ کے مشہور عالم مقدسے میں تاریخ وقائع سے کلیات

اخذ کرنے کی کوشش کی، سنہ اللہ کا مشاہدہ نہ صرف احوال عالم میں کیا بلکہ اعمال انسانی میں بھی اسکو جاری پایا، جس طرح سورج، چاند ستاروں پر و بحر، نوارِ مواسم اور توالی فصول میں قوانین فطرت کو نافذ العمل دیکھا اسی طرح ان قوانین کو انسانوں کے تصور اور قوموں کے عروج و زوال پر بھی مسلط پایا، جب ایک ہی حسے حالات پر ایک ہی جیسے نتائج مرتب ہوں تو ایسے قواعد بنائے جاسکتے ہیں جن سے مستقبل کی نسبت پیش گوئی کی جاسکے، چنانچہ ابن خلدون نے یہ قواعد مرتب کرنے کی کوشش کی، اس کے تخیل میں تاریخ صرف وقائع ملکی و سیاسی کے قلمسہ کرنے کا ہی نام نہ تھا، بلکہ تاریخ کے دائرے میں ابن خلدون نے اجتماعی زندگی اور کلچر کی بہت سی چیزوں کو شامل کر لیا تھا، چنانچہ اس نے ارتقائی ادب و علم، اسماء صنائع و حرف، تجارت، نکوین فرو و مدامہ وغیرہ وغیرہ سب کے مطالعہ پر اپنے مقدمہ میں پوری توجہ صرف کی۔

ابن خلدون کی کتاب تو اس دور میں مشرق و مغرب میں بے مثل کتاب تھی مگر متعدد اور مُصنف بعد کے زمانے میں پیدا ہوئے جنہوں نے خصوصاً مصر میں اپنے زمانے کی تاریخیں لکھیں، ان تاریخوں میں وہ ابن خلدون کی سی ناب تو پیدا نہ کرسکے پھر بھی ان میں چند در چند خوبیاں اور متعدد خصوصیتیں تھیں، مثلاً مقریزی میں کہ اس نے اپنی تاریخی کتابوں میں حالات نہایت محنت اور تحقیق سے جمع کئے اور مورخوں کی نسب عامۃ الناس کے اجتماعی حالات پر زیادہ روشنی ڈالی، اور یہ اسی کی تجسس اور تحقیق کا نتیجہ ہے کہ قاہرہ کے خطط اس تفصیل سے محفوظ ہو گئے ہیں کہ عربی کتابوں میں کسی اور شہر کا حال اتنا مفصل درج نہیں ہوا۔

عربی کی تاریخوں کے علاوہ عہدِ اسلامی میں سینکڑوں تاریخیں فارسی زبان میں لکھی گئیں جو ایران، آل عثمان کی ابتدائی تاریخ اور ہندوستان سے تعلق رکھتی ہیں، صرف ہندوستان کے دورِ اسلامی کی چھوٹی بڑی کوئی پانچ سو تاریخیں فارسی میں موجود ہیں۔ فارسی تاریخ نگاری پر مفصل گفتگو کے لئے وقت نہیں ہے مگر اس فن کے ماہرین میں ہم دو اہوالفضلوں کا ذکر ضرور کرنا چاہتے ہیں یعنی ابوالفضل بیہقی صاحب 'تاریخ آل محمود، کا اور ابوالفضل صاحب 'اکبر نامہ، کا۔ ان کے علاوہ رشیدالدین

فضل اللہ کا ذکر بھی کرنا چاہئے جس نے اپنی جامع التواریخ کو اس دور کی ایک نادرالوضع کتاب بنادیا، اور ہر قوم مثلاً مغول و چین و روم و ہند کی تاریخ اس قوم کے علما کی روایات کے مطابق اور ان کے لکھوانے سے لکھی۔

ترکی زبان میں آل عثمان کی بانصد سالہ تاریخ نہایت مفصل اور مسلسل اور مکمل لکھی گئی۔

اسلامی عہد کے اس طویل و عریض تاریخی لٹریچر کا مرتبہ دنیا کے تاریخی ادب میں صحیح طور پر سمجھنے کے لئے ضروری ہے کہ ہم ان شرائط کو سمجھیں جو تاریخ نگاری میں مسلمانوں کے پیش نظر تھیں، شیخ الاسلام تقی الدین سبکی م - ۵۶ لکھتے ہیں کہ نگاری کی شرطیں متعدد ہیں :

پہلی شرط راستی اور حق گوئی ہے۔ دوسری شرط یہ ہے کہ راوی سے اگر روایت کی جائے تو اس کے لفظوں پر اعتماد ہو نہ کہ معنی پر۔ تیسری شرط یہ ہے کہ ایسا نہ کرے کہ راوی سے بات مذاکرہ میں سنے اور بعد میں قلمبند کرے۔ چوتھی شرط یہ ہے کہ منقول عنہ کا نام لیا جائے۔ پانچویں شرط یہ ہے کہ اگر اپنے علم سے کسی کا حال لکھے تو صاحب ترجمہ کے علم، دین اور دیگر صفات کو بوری طرح سے جانتا ہو، چھٹی شرط یہ ہے کہ خوش تصور ہو، کسی کا ترجمہ لکھتے وقت اس شخص کا پورا حال اپنے تصور میں لاسکے۔ ساتویں شرط یہ ہے کہ مضمون کو جچے تلے الفاظ میں ادا کرسکے جو ادای مطلب میں ضرورت سے کم یا زیادہ نہ ہوں۔ آٹھویں شرط یہ ہے کہ مورخ عادل اور انصاف پسند ہو جو اپنے میلانات کو مغلوب رکھے، ایسا نہ کرے کہ جن کو پسند کرتا ہو ان کی مدح کو تو طول دے اور جن کو پسند نہ کرتا ہو ان کے ترجمہ کو مختصر کر دے۔

یہ تو دعویٰ نہیں کیا جاسکتا کہ سب اسلامی مورخوں نے ہر زمانے میں ان تمام قیود و شرائط کی پوری پابندی کی تا ہم یہ بلند تخیل اکثر عرب مورخین کے پیش نظر تھا اور انہوں نے عموماً بہت نمایاں طور پر صحیح واقعات کو تلاش کر کے قلمبند کیا اور تعصب و ہوی کے مخرب اثرات سے ان کو سالم اور محفوظ رکھا۔



۔ اسلاف کے ان قابلِ فخر کارناموں کا ذکر ہم نے سنا، اب ہم کو یہ دیکھنا ہے کہ تاریخِ اسلامی کی خدمت کے سلسلے میں ہماری آج کی ضروریات کیا ہیں۔ آج سے آٹھ سال پہلے بھی اس سوال کے جواب دینے کی کوشش اس نیازمند نے کی تھی، وہ ضرورتیں نہ صرف یہ کہ بدستور باقی ہیں بلکہ پہلے کی نسبت بہت زیادہ محتاجِ توجہ ہو گئی ہیں۔

ہماری پہلی ضرورت تاریخی مخطوطات کی فراہمی ہے

اقطارِ ملک میں بیسیوں تاریخی مخطوطات مختلف گھرانوں میں بکھرے پڑے ہیں۔ یہ مخطوطات اکثر فارسی میں اور کم کم عربی میں ہیں۔ ان میں سے بہت سے کسمپرسی اور عدم توجہی کی وجہ سے معرضِ تلف میں آ رہے ہیں۔ اشد ضروری ہے کہ جو کچھ بچایا جاسکتا ہے۔ بچالیا جائے۔ اور ان مخطوطات کو مرکزی مقامات میں محفوظ کر لیا جائے۔ اس لئے کہ ماضی کا یہ قیمتی ورثہ ایک قومی حیثیت رکھتا ہے اور انفرادی حفاظت نہیں بلکہ قومی حفاظت کا ہتقاضی ہے۔ ہر محبِ علم اور دوستدارِ تاریخ کا فرض ہے کہ اس بارے میں ہر ممکن کوشش صرف کرے۔ اس لئے کہ یہ مخطوطات قصرتِ تاریخ کی تعمیر کا تسلہ ہیں۔ ان کے بغیر محال ہے کہ تاریخ نویسی کا کام سر انجام پاسکے۔ پنجاب یونیورسٹی نے اس بارے میں کافی مستعدی کا ثبوت دیا ہے۔ عربی، فارسی اور اردو کے ۶۸۰۴ مخطوطات اور روٹوگراف جمع ہو چکے ہیں۔ ان میں سے ۳۸۵ نسخے تاریخِ اسلامی سے تعلق رکھتے ہیں۔

ان کے علاوہ سکوں، مہروں، فرامین اور کتبوں کا جمع کرنا بھی ضروری ہے کیونکہ یہ چیزیں تاریخ کا اہم اور موثق مواد ہیں۔ سکوں کا نہایت عمدہ ذخیرہ لاہور میوزیم میں جمع ہے۔ پرانے فرامین بھی بہت سے گھروں میں موجود ہیں۔ اگر یہ مل سکیں تو ہماری تاریخ کے کئی روشن باب ان سے مرتب ہو سکتے ہیں۔ اسی طرح ملک کے گوشوں میں بیسیوں کتے چھپے ہوئے ہیں جن پر تاریخ کے طالبِ علم کی نظر بہت کم پڑتی ہے۔ کتے بھی انقلابِ لیل و نہار سے دیر و زود تلف ہو جاتے ہیں۔ یہ ضروری ہے کہ ان کو محفوظ کر دیا جائے۔ تاکہ حتی الامکان ان کا مواد کام میں لایا جاسکے۔

اس کانفرنس کے مسلمہ مقاصد میں شامل ہیں۔ اس سلسلے میں علمی اقدامات کی ضرورت ہے تاکہ یہ مقاصد عالیہ خدا نخواستہ مدن نک زب قرطاس ہی نہ رہیں۔

(۷) کتب نصاب کی ضرورت: اسلامی تاریخ اب اسکولوں اور کالجوں میں داخل نصاب تعلیم ہے، لیکن مناسب و موزوں اور مستند کتابوں کی قلت ہے۔ ان کی تالیف و اشاعت میں اس کانفرنس کی اعانت بکار ہے۔

(۸) عجائب خانوں کے ذخائر کی توسیع: اسلامی کلچر کے سمجھنے کے لئے بیسیوں چیزوں کی ضرورت پڑتی ہے، جو عہد بعہد کے فنون لطیفہ، اسلامی صنائع اور طرز معیشت کو واضح کرتی ہوں۔ ماضی بعید کی یہ چیزیں ہمارے عجائب خانوں میں بہت کم ہیں۔ ان کو ڈھونڈنا اور محفوظ کرنا ضروری ہے۔ اسلامی عمارات کے نمونے اور خاکے بھی ان اداروں میں بہم پہنچنے چاہئیں اور ان انیا کے حالات مفصل بیان ہونے چاہئیں۔ ہمارے آرٹ کی چیزوں کے حلال نائع کرنے میں پنجاب یونیورسٹی آرٹ ڈیپارٹمنٹ کے ڈاکٹر محمد عبداللہ چغتائی نے قابل ذکر کوشس کی ہے۔

(۹) آثار قدیمہ کی حفاظت: ہمارے بہت سے آثار کی طرف دور گذشتہ میں اس لئے توجہ نہ کی جاتی تھی کہ بجٹ محدود تھے۔ لہذا جو آثار سطح زمین کے برابر آچکے تھے، ان کی طرف توجہ مقدم تھی۔ ضرورت ہے کہ اب موجودہ آثار کی حالت کو امکنی حد تک درست کیا جائے اور ”پس از آنکہ من نمانم“ کا انتظار نہ کیا جائے۔

(۱۰) فہارس مسکوکات: لاہور میں خصوصاً اور پاکستان کے بعض دوسرے عجائب خانوں میں عموماً مسکوکات کا اچھا خاصہ ذخیرہ موجود ہے ان کی مکمل فہرستیں شائع نہیں ہوئیں۔ خان بہادر مولوی ظفر الحسن، اور ملک شمس الدین صاحب کیوریٹر، لاہور میوزیم نے یہ فہرستیں بیاہ کی ہیں۔ اب ان کو شائع ہونا چاہئے، اس لئے کہ ۱۹۱۴ء سے جو سابقہ فہرست کا سنہ طباعت ہے اس وقت تک مسکوکوں میں بہت اضافہ ہوا ہے۔

خواتین و حضرات!

آپ نے ان گذارشات کو توجہ سے سنا۔ اس کے لئے ہدیہ تشکر پیش کرتا ہوں۔

## ISLAMIC CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY AND WRITING OF HISTORY.

The historian of Islam can easily see the fact that no other civilization could boast of so vast a store of literary historical sources, as the Islamic civilization. Athens, Rome, Constantinople were over-shadowed by the extensive literary activities of Baghdad, Medina, Cairo and Cordova. In spite of the devastation and the barbaric invasions which were characterized by their contempt for books and learning and their destruction of libraries, the list of books still extant can reach perhaps to thousands. Rulers as well as dignitaries of the state vied with one another in collecting and purchasing books. Emissaries were sent all over the Islamic countries in search of books which were bought at exorbitant prices.

History is one of the most copious sections of Arabic literature. A German Arabist (Wustenfeld) listed the name of Arabic historians in the first thousand years of the Islamic era and the number reached 590. Tabari wanted to compose a historical work, the number of leaves, as it was first intended, was to be 30,000. This was, of course, impossible to achieve in one's life time. Nevertheless Tabari was one of the most voluminous writers. His commentary and history are works of great magnitude. They still bear no comparison with Dhahabi's history and Ibn 'Asākir who dedicated his life to record all extant traditions on Damascus.

The orientalists, Arabists and scholars who are interested in Muslim history are faced with a paradox. They feel at a loss to explain the production of such a vast material in a very short time. Of course, it is not strange for them to do so as they are unable to perceive the influence of the Holy Quran on the minds of the Muslims. This divine Book has been and will remain a source of great inspiration to all scholars in all ages. The secret of this perpetual appeal lies in the divine wisdom which is the true word of God

Soon after the age of conquest the Muslims, rulers and ruled alike, settled down to devote themselves to pursuits of learning and intellectual inquiry. The striking thing in the colossal growth of historical literature is the rapidity of its development. Many causes combined to produce and enhance this movement in the early days of Islam. The study and interpretation of the Holy Quran necessitated the study of a number of

allied subjects among which the collection, compilation and examination of traditions occupied the first place, because the *Sunnah* of the Prophet was regarded as a necessary complement to the understanding of the Qurān. The collection of the traditions of the Prophet was soon followed by the collection of the traditions of the *Companions* and their successors. A little later the recording of political events was separated from the compilation of traditions. These records were originally known as *al-Maghazi*-battles, and formed the starting-point of Muslim historiography. The righteous Caliph 'Umar realized the importance of written history and introduced a great innovation—the dating from the Hīra of the Holy Prophet. This institution served as a great stimulus in the writing and arranging of historical data. All the previous ways of dating were chaotic. The Romans and the Greeks had clumsy methods, and the Biblical writers were not interested in dates. The introduction of Hadrat 'Umar's calendar therefore came as a great revolution in the world events.

In order to get a clear conception of the great contribution of the Muslims to the study and writing of history, a definition of history is needed. There are many definitions but the most general one can be stated as follows:—

“History is the record of human events and actions”.

This includes the culture in its different phases, in a word it is the record of civilization in its fullest form.

To put historical facts on record is the first duty of a historian. Now-a-days recording machines are so perfect that they preserve the sound, the accent and the minutest utterance of the speaker. The broadcasting stations release huge material to the public. The news papers publish the world events in exact and extensive ways, out of all proportions known until now. Our own speeches delivered in the present session may be now recorded and released in distant regions. Nevertheless frauds and forgeries are still committed, and censorship can cut out much essential material to make the story look exact.

In spite of the limitations in material and methods the Muslim writers were able to record with utmost honesty the events which took place in the time of the Holy Prophet. They were so much concerned about the truth that they did not trust books and written material and considered memory as the main trustworthy repository of history. Their

memory was strained to retain voluminous facts. The whole Qurān was committed to memory and the number of those who did so reached thousands. They were called "Huffaz" and readers. The Arabs were well known for their immense power of memory. In the Jāhiliyā period as well as in the early Islamic era their entire intellectual out-put was carried in oral traditions.

There are some characteristics common to almost all Muslim historians. (1) They write for the instruction of the people. (2) They are mostly independent writers and partisanship is very rare. (3) Their works touch on all phases of life, whether of a general or a particular character. For instance; Tabari's work is a universal history while Al-Waqidi's is of a limited scope.

The Arab historians devised many methods to ensure accuracy in their work. The "*isnad*" was utilized at the surest method of recording the statement of an eye or ear witness to the event in question; and history has never known such an extensive use of "chain of transmitters". One single tradition may be recorded through different chains of transmitters. The second device is the dating by the year; month and even the day. The historian Buckle says that this practice in Europe is not earlier than 1597 A.D. Thirdly they devised principles of historical methods which were not surpassed except recently. They evolved historical criticism as an independent science called *فن اسماء الرجال*. Originally it was developed to assist the study of traditions, but was later on also applied to the study of history, although not with the same rigidity.

These introductory remarks only show the main lines on which the Muslim historians worked. It is a hard job to choose from the galaxy of eminent personalities among the Muslim historians. For our own purposes it suffices to study in this light three great Muslim writers of history who served as mile-stones in the development of the art of writing history. They are Muhammad ibn Jarir 'Abu Jā'far Al-Tabari, who is well-known for his Chronicle of Apostles and Kings. Like many Muslim historians he was versatile; he was a traditionist and a jurist of repute, but he became famous chiefly as a historian and commentator of the Quran. The characteristic work of his universal history is the element of continuity in it. There were historians like Abu Mikhnaf and Madā'inī who were among his best authorities but they could not evolve the conception of a composite universal history. They wrote monographs on different

events as on the battle of Shiffin. Some credit must be given in this connection to Ibn Ishaq who gave us the "Sirah", the biography of the Prophet, but the difference between history and biography is quite obvious. Ibn Ishāq was not destined in that early age to work out the historical method of Al-Tabari, who as far as our records can show, had no precedent to model his work on. The Romans and Greeks had no influence on the writing of Muslims history. The ancient Persians too left no remains to be imitated or improved by Al-Tabari. So this famous historian worked as a pioneer and established his own school of history, and in due course his eminence as a historian overshadowed his reputation as a jurist.

It is to be said that Al-Tabari was not critical enough of his sources but this judgment should be taken with caution. The historians of the early period of Islam were conscious of the magnitude of their job and they had a clear conception of the importance of their duty in recording the huge material which was in oral circulation. The life time of one person was not enough to put into writing all the extant traditions. So they devoted their efforts to collecting faithfully the authentic traditions from all sources with marvelous tolerance and tenacity. They left a precious asset for the coming generations to apply their internal criticism to it. Unfortunately this was misunderstood and what was collected was transmitted with no effort to examine, compare and criticize.

What can be said of Tabari is also true of al-Bukhārī, the greatest traditionist of Islam. His book "Sahih" is a standard book for students of tradition and Muslim jurisprudence. He is not a historian in the real sense of the word but his job was to record traditions of the Prophet for the benefit of jurists. Like Al-Tabari he indulged in historical processes, but later generations were responsible for edifying him as the father of Islamic history. Historians are accustomed to confer the epithet of "father of history" on Herodotus, but I am inclined to confer the same on al-Tabari and al-Bukhari two of our most eminent writers who envolved an original science of history, the one working in the domain of pure history and the other in the world of biography.

This is a very general and limited study of two of the leading Muslim historians who devoted their lives to history. The hurried picture can not be complete without due consideration of another illustrious historian who can be safely given the exalted title of "the father of modern historiography". His name is 'Abdul Rahman Ibn Khaldūn. He was born in

Tunis in 1332 A.D. and died in 1406 A.D. He lived in an age of political decadence and strife which is reflected in his Prolegomena and much of what is embodied in his stupendous history is the result of his deep insight into the affairs of states and peoples and into the reading of historical phenomena. Still some ascribe his pessimism to the troubled times. His main work is the book of al-I bar and Diwan Al-Muhtadā wal-Khabar. Part I of his book, generally known as the Prolegomena, is one of the most outstanding works on the philosophy of history. We defined history not as the record of days and kingdoms, but as a science dealing with the causes, results and processes of the rise and fall of nations. Ibn Khaldūn's is the first attempt on record which aims at raising history to the dignity a science. His main concern is not history but sociology of which history forms a constituent unit. He tried to explain the social phenomena which direct the course of history. States take different stages in their development. They start as strong units and grow in the same way as a human being who passes through different phases of life. For causes given by Ibn Khaldūn they grow weaker and weaker and after some time other political units start in the same way and supersede them. What is more interesting about Ibn Khaldūn's contribution to the study of history is not so much his history as his views of history. He is considered as the first thinker who attempted to develop the analytical and critical method in history. Though in sociology he is very original, yet his way of examining internal evidence is worth detailed examination. He tried to study every event in history in the light of principles and laws so that one can explain the development of social structure in a given set of circumstances. History in Ibn Khaldun's opinion is not an end but a means to understand society. However, the way in which he treated historical material laid the foundation of the critical method which has become universal in modern times. A historian is inevitably faced with the problem of method, if he disregards the philosophic method of Ibn Khaldūn his work is bound to remain superficial and unimpressive. Since the time of this great thinker the implements used in writing history have undergone so many improvements that writing history today is like writing on any other scientific topic. Whether or not history is a science is a question left for scholars to decide, as there are different opinions on the subject. Arguments are sometimes given to establish the theory of some aspirant historians that history can be raised to the level of a science. To predict the future is one of the main drawbacks of the historians of this tendency. Ibn Khaldūn could not keep

himself away of this precarious attitude. To know the present by studying the past is more or less an acceptable slogan among historians. Even this one is faced with great illusions as events look alike on the surface but on closer investigations they look different and their causes are not the same. Ibn Khaldūn rightly says that human beings in their ethnic similarities indicate that basically they have one mentality, unity of origin and are governed by the same laws. The past to him is like the present and therefore, he was inclined to look to the future in the same way. Prediction of the future was one of his main aims. Our historian was the first in the world to conceive of history as a separate branch of knowledge which is governed by laws and principles. He opened an era in history and modern scholars are indebted to him for many details. He gave to historians rules and warnings to guide them in their study of history and make them avoid the pitfalls which are very destructive. They are as follows :—

1. A historian should avoid partisanship.

2. The historian cannot escape the charge of credulousness unless he adopts a critical attitude to historical events. Ibn Khaldūn calls it "the spitting and modification" *الجرح والتعديل* which is entirely an Islamic contribution introduced by "Al-Bukhari".

3. Ignorance of the natural conditions of society and social environments will lead to miscalculation.

It will not be out of place if I give here in an epitome the main points in Ibn Khaldun's contribution to the philosophy of history. *First* ; he established the law of causation. This is not a new thing in the study of physical sciences, but Ibn Khaldun tried to apply it to history. Still he believed in the power of God and his will in the disposal of events. *Second* ; I have referred before to the principle of similarity between human beings and lives of states. The laws of growth and decay of the one apply to the other. *Third* ; vis-a-vis this law, there is another law of dissimilarity which is due to the influence of environment which is not the same in all countries and all ages.

Though Ibn Khaldūn could not avoid some mistakes which influenced his views he is considered one of the great founders of the modern study of history. The historical principles he has formulated, with due concession to the prejudices of his age, still hold true. His principal researches



are embodied in his famous Prolegomena which is still the subject of many critical studies by historians and sociologists.

It may seem dull to present more examples of eminent Muslim historians. The three instances I have quoted are enough to establish the fact that in the history of civilization, Islamic history occupies a vital place and the writing of it is equally a matter of great importance and a singular achievement. It has laid under contribution some of the greatest historical geniuses in the past.

What I want to convey on the present occasion is that when the Muslims overlook the leadership of the world historiography at the best amounted to legend writing; the Muslims developed and organised it as a great science. I do not claim to make a comprehensive and exhaustive study but I want to point out the importance of Islamic contribution to it.

The contribution of Islamic history is great in itself but what is greater is the duty of every student of history to contribute in his own field to the advancement of "historiography" to try to make out of it a complete branch of science. This may not be achieved in a short time yet in the manner of the great Muslim historians of the past we should follow the method of honest and critical inquiry into the historical material with which we leave to grapple in our day. Our great Islamic heritage could not have been kept if it were not for our great historians. Our responsibility is however greater in as much as we have to study this heritage in the light of modern historiography.

conscience and by putting an end to private enterprise and initiative have reduced human beings to the position of mere parts of a machine.

In an Islamic State, on the other hand, sovereignty belongs to God. This does not mean that in an Islamic State, all the laws are to be made by God Himself or that the Qurān provides all possible positive laws and the people have nothing to do with sovereign functions. The laws which are enacted in an Islamic State are, no doubt, to be made by the people of the State but in the light of Qurānic fundamentals. Thus in an Islamic State the people have got partial and restricted right of law making. They cannot make any law which runs contrary to the clear Qurānic injunctions which are noted for universal application. In this sense, the people who make the laws are not really law makers, and as such, are not above law, but they are only the executors of law and as such, stand at par, with ordinary citizens.

The original source from which all principles and ordinances of Islam are drawn is the Holy Book called Al-Qurān. According to the belief of every Muslim, the Qurān is a *divinely revealed* book and as such, all positive laws given therein have superiority over man-made laws. It is a historical fact that the text of the Qurān has not undergone even the slightest change. One of the original copies compiled during the caliphate of Hadrat 'Uthman is still preserved in Egypt. Taking into consideration the divine origin of the Qurān and the purity of its text, one has got to regard it as the real foundation on which the whole super-structure of Islam rests, and being the only absolute and final authority in every discussion relating to the principles and laws of Islam, it is perfectly right to say that the Holy Qurān is the sole source from which all the teachings and practices of Islam are drawn.

There are two kinds of verses in the Holy Quran, namely decisive and allegorical the latter being those which are capable of different interpretations. The decisive verses are the basis of the Book, and contain the fundamental principles of religion. Hence whatever may be the differences of interpretation over allegorical verses the fundamentals of religion are not affected by them.

#### Sunnah or Hadith.

Sunnah or Hadith is the second and undoubtedly secondary source from which the Islamic laws are drawn. Sunnah literally means a way or rule or manner of acting. In its original sense, therefore, Sunnah indicates

the doings, and Hadith the sayings of the Holy Prophet; but in effect both cover the same ground and are applicable to his actions, practices, and sayings, Hadith being the narration and record of the Sunnah but containing, in addition, various prophetic and historical elements. We have now to consider to what extent can the teachings of Islam, its principles and its laws, be drawn from this source. As Holy Qurān generally deals with the broad principles or essentials of Islam, the details are generally to be supplied by the Sunnah of the Holy prophet. Even for the two most important religious institutions of Islam, *e. g.* prayer and Zakat, no details are to be found in the Qurān. The details about these injunctions were only supplied by the practice of the Holy Prophet. These are but two examples; but since Islam covered the whole sphere of human activities, hundreds of points had to be explained by the Holy Prophet by his example in action and word, while on the moral side, his was the pattern which every Muslim was required to follow. The persons, therefore, who embraced Islam, stood in need of both the Holy Qurān and the Sunnah. With this object in view, serious steps were taken by the followers of the Holy Prophet to collect all the traditions with every possible care that was humanly possible.

In judging whether a certain Hadith was spurious or genuine, the collectors not only made a thorough investigation regarding the trustworthiness of the transmitters but also applied other tests for its acceptance. No hadith was to be accepted—if it was opposed to recognized historical facts, or if it was against reason or against the plain teachings of the Qurān.

Being the secondary source of law, Hadith is, however, to be judged by the Qurān. If it agrees with the Qurān it should be accepted, if it runs contrary to the spirit of a Qurānic injunction, it should be rejected.

### **Ijtihad or Exercise of Judgement:**

Ijtihād is the third source from which the laws of Islam are drawn. The word itself is derived from the root *jehda* which means exerting oneself to the utmost or to the best of one's ability, and Ijtihād, which literally conveys the same significance, is technically applicable to a lawyer's exerting the faculties of mind to the utmost for the purpose of solving difficult legal problems.

Reasoning or the exercise of judgement, in the theological as well as in legal matters plays a very important part in the religion of Islam. The

Qurān does recognised revelation as a source of knowledge higher than reason, but at the same time admits that the truth of the principles established by revelation may<sup>1</sup> be judged by reason, and hence it is that it repeatedly appeals to reason<sup>2</sup> and denounces those who do not use their reasoning faculty. It also recognizes the necessity of the exercise of judgement in order to arrive at a decision.<sup>3</sup>

Ijtihād or the exercise of judgment is expressly recognized in Hadith as the means by which a decision may be arrived at when there is no direction in the Holy Qurān or Hadith. The following Hadith is regarded as the basis of Ijtihad in Islam: On being appointed Governor of Yemen, Muādh bin Jabal was asked by the Holy Prophet as to the rule by which he would adjudicate. He replied, 'by the law of the Quran.' 'But if you do not find any direction therein', asked the Prophet. 'Then I will act according to the Sunnah of the Prophet', was the reply. 'But if you do not find any direction in the Sunnah', he was again asked. 'Then I will exercise my judgment and act on that', came the reply. The Prophet raised his hands and said, "Praise be to Allah who guides the messenger of His Apostle as He pleases". This hadith shows not only that the Holy Prophet approved of the exercise of judgement, but also that his Companions were well aware of the principle, and that Ijtihād by others than the Prophet was freely resorted to when necessary, even in the Prophet's life time. The Prophet's immediate successors did not arrogate all authority to themselves in this respect but had a legislative council to which every important case was referred, and decisions were arrived at by the Caliph in consultation with the members of that council in the light of the Qurān and the Sunnah.

In the second century of the Hijra arose the famous schools of the great jurists which codified the Islamic law according to the need of the time; and this codification became the chief basis of Islamic law.

#### *Ijma'.*

The further source of Islamic law is Ijmā'. The word Ijma is derived from *jama* which means collecting or gathering together, and Ijmā' carries the double significance of composing and settling a thing which has been unsettled and hence determining and resolving upon an affair, and also agreeing or uniting in opinion. In the terminology of the Muslim jurists, Ijmā' means a consensus of opinion of the Mujtahids, or an agreement of the Muslim jurists, of a particular age on a point of law.

Ijmā', however, is not an independent source of law. It is only Ijtihād on a wider basis and like Ijtihad, it is always open to revision.

Since the Islamic laws are to be derived from the Qurān which is regarded as a universal guide for all time it is inevitable that Ijtihād should continue to be exercised. It is, therefore, a mistake to suppose that the door of Ijtihād was closed after the four Imams mentioned above. It has already been shown that the Qurān and Hadīth have both allowed the free exercise of judgment, and it was on the basis of these directions that the Muslim world continued to exercise its Judgment in making laws for itself. Since the ultimate test of the correctness of Hadīth is the Qurān itself, the conclusion is evident that Islam allows independence of thought subject only to one thing, that the principles laid down in the Qurān are not contravened.

It will thus be seen that the Muslim community has the right to make any law for itself, the only condition being that such law shall not contravene any principle laid down by the Holy Qurān. It is this restriction imposed upon the framers of law in an Islamic State which has created a world of difference between this State and all other States.

### *Attributes of Sovereignty.*

#### **Equality :**

Since sovereignty in an Islamic State is restricted to the four corners of Shari'ah, whose principles are universal and equally applicable to all, the first resultant characteristic of such a State is naturally equality. It is, however, a mistaken notion that Islam sanctions absolute equality among its votaries. Absolute equality is denied by nature, as no two persons are equal in any respect. Any amount of effort on the part of a State to equalise the mental faculties or even physical gifts of different persons will prove fruitless. Consequently a well-known verse of the Quran says 'Verily we have given preference to some over others.' However, the question arises, what is the concept of equality in Islam? It means equality before law and in matters of civic rights and obligations to the State. Above all it means affording equal opportunities to all irrespective of caste, creed, colour, race, sex or birth. Only merit, character and devotion to the cause of Islam should enable a person to occupy the highest position in the State. A person's worth should not be judged by birth but by efficiency, character and service to the cause of Islam.

## Liberty :

The second characteristic of an Islamic State is liberty which in its true perspective was, for the first time, presented by Islam to humanity. The greatest character of individual liberty is involved in that very 'Kalimah' which every believer is required to pronounce while declaring his faith. The pronouncement of the 'Kalimah'—There is no god but one God—excludes all other authority but that of God.

A Muslim is free as he is required not to obey any other authority but that of God. In other words this would mean that he is only free within the limits prescribed by the Shari'ah. None can encroach upon the rights of others but at the same time can feel free within his own rights.

Even an ordinary citizen of the State can criticize and take account from the highest in the State. But at the same time, licence in the name of liberty is not allowed in order to slander people or to make fun of the authorities. As the common objective of all the citizens in an Islamic State is the same, there is no tug of war between the rights of an individual and those of the State. Private enterprise and property are allowed but within certain limits and subject to certain duties and obligations.

## Fraternity :

The third characteristic of the Islamic State is fraternity. All the believers are regarded as brethren to one another. Such is the force of Islamic brotherhood that even blood relationship counts for nothing as compared with it.

Master and servant, white and black, rich and poor, Arab and non-Arab stand together in the brotherhood of Islam. The thing which counts most is the *taqwa* or piety and nothing else. The climax of Islamic fraternity was reached on the occasion of the Hīrat of the Holy Prophet and his followers from Mecca to Medina, when he knitted one Muhajir and one Ansar in the brotherhood of Islam. Every Ansar took one Muhajir in his family and treated him as his brother. The Ansars offered equal sharing of all their wealth, property and goods with the Muhajirin who, on the other hand did not like to be parasites on their brethren in faith but made their own living through trade and commerce, and contributed to the progress, well-being and prosperity of the city-state of Medina.

## Position of Non-Believers :

Since the Islamic State is an ideological State, only those persons are to be entrusted with its administration, who believe in its ideology. It is

the believers alone who undertake to bear all the responsibilities of running such a State, and agree to sacrifice their all in order to maintain it ; and the non-believers agree only to live within its jurisdiction with peace and tranquility ; naturally the rights and duties of each section of the people are totally different.

However, the Islamic State regards all the non-believers as its own responsibility and as such, guarantees full liberty of conscience, protection of property, life and honour and freedom of religious belief to all the non-believers. Nay, it goes one step further and provides full scope for the growth of their culture and traditions and the administration of their civil affairs in accordance with their own religious laws.

An Islamic State does not believe in forcing its culture and traditions on others or adopting coercive measures for the merging of the culture of the non-believers into that of the believers, under the cloak of nationalism. As the non-believers are not obliged to defend the Islamic State, they are required to pay a small tax in return. But the moment the non-believers show their willingness to the ideology of the Islamic State and are prepared to defend it, they are at once exempted from this tax.

All distinction between the believers and the non-believers so far as the civic rights are concerned, disappears, and all offices of the state with the exception of religious ones, lie open to them. In short, the concessions and liberal treatment accorded to non-believers in an Islamic State will appear as a boon if one considers the condition of those people who live in a Communist State or any other ideological State, without having belief in its ideology.

### **Justice :**

The fourth characteristic of an Islamic State is Justice which is meted out impartially to the high and the low, the master and the servant, the white and the black and even between a Muslim and a non-Muslim.

Recording of deposition of influential persons through a Commission is not allowed by Islamic Law, and no preferential treatment is allowed even to the highest in an Islamic law court. The Islamic law courts lay easy procedure for the conduct of cases and cheap and speedy justice is to be meted out to rich and poor alike. The Qadis who apply divine law

consider themselves responsible to God and, as such, dispense with justice equitably. They have to be very careful in shifting falsehood from truth and thus act impartially. Only persons of sound character can be produced as witnesses in a Qadi's court. The Islamic Law lays down such a great emphasis on the character of a witness that even those who wear silken dress are not accepted as witnesses in a Law Court.

The dual responsibility is the fourth characteristic feature of the Islamic State where every one from the Head down to an ordinary citizen, is doubly responsible, *e. g.* to God and some sort of earthly authority. In public one dares not commit any act of commission or omission on account of the fear of the State officials, and in private also one abstains from committing any wrong as one is conscious of the presence of Almighty. Hence there is no distinction between the public and private life of a citizen in an Islamic State. The present day corruption which is rampant all over the world in every form of Government cannot be removed unless the fear of God is created in the minds of the people, and that is impossible unless the citizens are made to believe in the existence of One God, and in the Hereafter, where no wrong-doer could escape due punishment for his acts of commission and omission.

Since all the believers surrender some of their rights for the achievement of the common objective and undertake to attain it both individually as well as collectively, there is no clash of interests between the rights and obligations of an individual and those of the State. Since it has got the whole scheme to work out, it cannot, therefore, compromise over its fundamentals. As it is based on the Qurānic principles which cover the whole field of human activities, it becomes impossible to separate religious from political functions. In fact every act of the State as well as that of the individual becomes religious as it is done in the name of God and in accordance with His dictates sent to us through the Qurān. However, although it is a religious State it is totally different from the Christian Theocracy where priests as a class had arrogated to themselves the sovereign rights in the name of religion.

Thus it may be concluded that it is only in an Islamic State, where divine check is applied to sovereign rights of the people and where laws are derived from the Qurān and Hadith through Ijtihad and Ijmā', that true equality before law, impartiality in justice, freedom of expression and liberty of conscience are to be obtained.



## SOME CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE UNDER HADRAT ABU BAKR, THE FIRST CALIPH OF ISLAM.

### Introduction :

I have selected the topic of cultural and literary aspects of the people under Hadrat Abu Bakr for to-day. Little do we know in detail of those far off times. But this period of incubation, which gave out a civilization and culture to the world, might be held to bear out Plato's contention that social life is happiest and most harmonious when those who have to rule are the last people in the world who would choose to be rulers. The first four successors of 'Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon his soul) by their stoic, unpretentious and pious life changed the entire out-look of Arabia. Islam brought about a social revolution and its contribution was positive, significant and lasting in so far as it substituted new human values in place of old views and prejudices. Islamic civilization stands in sharp contrast to the Greek, the Roman and the Persian civilizations which had legalised slavery, accentuated class-distinction and fettered mankind feudal with bonds.

In the pre-Islamic days, Arab institutions were rudimentary, characteristic of primitive man. With the inception of Islam there emerged a universal state and a universal brotherhood. This vital religious force not only shaped and developed the character of its followers but also sounded the death knell of the old chaotic barbarous age. It brought into existence a new society with a distinct outlook, and created a civilization which is still alive to-day.

The civilization of a nation is generally the product of two fundamental factors; (a) emotional and (b) economic. Emotional factors chiefly forge the mental outlook of a people and build up its national character. Character has rightly been held as the motive force which accelerates social progress. The heroes of Islam during this period are noted for their great qualities of leadership, personal integrity and ideal behaviour. Their heroic deeds and immortal achievements left a permanent mark on the character of mankind. On the other hand, economic factors shape the material conditions of a nation. But history tells us that emotional factors prove more effective than economic factors in making a nation. A study of the phenomenal rise of Islamic power in the world will bear glowing testimony to the truth of this state.

In the pre-Islamic times the Arabs were steeped in vices. They were grossly superstitious, practised witchcraft and worshipped idols. They

attached little value to human life, and some even practised infanticide. They gambled and revelled in wine and loved adultery. As such they had fallen into the abyss of human degradation. Islam changed their entire outlook, teaching them mutual love, piety, unity of God and universal brotherhood.

The study of Islam and its past had, of late, been engaging, particularly as a reaction of the two world wars, the attention of serious scholars all over the world; especially among Muslim countries, where there appears to be spontaneous urge among the people to rediscover that spirit of Islam which once upon a time had given the world a message of peace, goodness and progress. This selfsame urge has persuaded me to read this paper, because it will remind us of our great heritage of Islam, which for the first time in history taught mankind how to live in consonance with the will of God. This is my apology for reading this paper.

**A life dedicated to the acquisition of knowledge is the very life-breath of Islam:—**

The Prophet during his ministry at Medina preached in most eloquent manner the necessity of seeking knowledge; and often would he emphasize the necessity of saying, "the ink of the scholar is more sacred than the blood of the martyrs"; and "he who leaves his home in search of knowledge, walks in the path of God,"; "Acquire knowledge, because he who obtains it in the way of the Lord, performs an act of piety; who speaks of it, praises the Lord; who seeks it adores God, who gives instruction in it, bestows alms; and who imparts it to others performs an act of devotion to God." Thus by his sermons and personal example the Prophet converted Medina into a rendezvous of all the seekers after truth; and to this very metropolis of the Islamic commonwealth flocked men of all nationalities; the Persian, the Syrians, the Greeks, the Negroes of Africa and the people of Iraq. Thus did the Prophet breathe a new spirit amongst his followers; and such an overpowering enthusiasm did they exhibit for learning that every believer regarded the propagation of the new religion as an article of faith, and learning and teaching became the noblest profession in Islam.

After the death of the Prophet, Abu Bakr, his most intimate friend successor, having crushed the apostasy, devoted all his energies to the love of learning, and laid the foundation of the traditional or historical

school of Medina—the nucleus whence Islam was consolidated and propagated. It goes to the credit of this great hero that he left no stone unturned to awaken and direct the energies of a newly-sprung people towards the development of science and literature.

### **Criticism of the days of yore.**

We moderns, accustomed to see the division of sciences in clear-cut branches and water-tight compartments, as it exists today, cannot visualise the arduous and painful process through which human thought had to pass to reach its present development. It would be needless to recount all those disabilities under which the earlier workers laboured for the collection of data and the sifting of evidence to make a proper beginning of our modern sciences. It should be noted that in ancient and mediaval times scholasticism made a strange blend of science, literature, arts, and all other other pursuits which went by the name of knowledge. Hence it is vain to seek any distinction between different branches of learning, *e.g.*, economics, history, political science, literature, etc.

### **The Quran, the basis of all legislation :**

With the promulgation of Islam the Muslims took to the study of the Qur'ān which was the basis of all legislation. It was through this divine work that they became acquainted with “Hikmat” or wisdom. The wisdom of the book included a variety of sciences because it embodied “ilm” or positive knowledge, “fiqh”, the under-standing of law, and problems of Metaphysics and Ethics. Thus theology, law and ethical precepts, all were blended in one book. The wisdom was there yet its exposition and interpretation was essential to bring it to the reach of the masses. This necessitated the undertaking of studies and their classification into different categories.

### **The traditional school of Medina :**

Since the Prophet had defined law as the Will of God, the popular view about it was that any violation of it, besides being an offence against society, was also an offence against God.<sup>1</sup> The impetus given to learning by Abu Bakr soon led these early scholars to developing their researches into a universal school, which retained its individuality and distinct outlook, which subsequent changes of time could not efface. During the caliphate of the Umayyads, the Abbasids, the Fatamid rulers of Egypt, and the Ottomon Turks, this school exercised an independence of judgment and moral preponderance unknown to any other religious

school whether it was in Iraq,<sup>1</sup> Egypt, Persia or any other part of the Caliphate. The Medina school always stood for denouncing the rulers who violated the basic ideals of Islam.<sup>2</sup> It maintained its prestige by keeping religion above party politics and at no time did it yield to political pressure or support the state for its own sake. The practical unostentatious piety of these scholars and their unworldliness almost made the orthodoxy of the Medinian brand synonymous with proof against all intrigue. This is why innumerable scholars of repute made such vast contributions in the domain of theology, law, and other branches of learning and left their permanent mark on the pages of history.

### **Abu Bakr, the father of "Usul-al Fiqh" or Jurisprudence :**

Thus began under Abu Bakr a study of Usul or Jurisprudence as an independent study. This study naturally combined in itself the analysis of dogmas and scholastic theology which formed the science of "Shar'" which literally meant the "road." Hence it elucidated the laws of Islam. In this connection it would be noted that in no way it corresponded with the "canon laws" of Christianity which were the exposition of the Church.

Abu Bakr is regarded by the "Ulama" as the father of Usul-al "Fiqh" because he was the first to formulate rules of "Ijtihad," and while he tackled the thorny questions of "Fiqh," such as "Mirath-i-Jad wa Jaddah (inheritance of grandmother and grandfather) Hadd'i Shurb'i Khamr (Punishment for drunkenness) and tafsir-i-Kalala (failure of any collaterals), his decisions in the science of jurisprudence served as the basis for later jurists.

### **Sunnah and Abu Bakr's role :**

Imitating the personal example of Abu Bakr, scholars anxious to preserve the Prophet's angle of vision regarding the manifold conditions of life and its problems, began to collect precedents and anecdotes from the Prophet's life. It was on this spade work of these scholars that new structures were raised by the jurists of succeeding generations. The compilation of Sunnah had not begun in real earnest in Abu Bakr's time because it was too close to the ministry of the Prophet. During the life-time of the companions of the Prophet the necessity of putting the Prophet's traditions into a separate branch of knowledge was not keenly felt. This work was taken up by later generations when owing to the death of the companions in wars it was thought necessary to preserve,

the utterances of the Apostle of God which had been narrated by the "mothers of the faithful" and the companions. These scholars worked with such deep judgment that the Islamic law became unique in the world and western writers have paid homage to this inspiring and marvellous contribution at every stage of civilization. Prof. Gibb of Oxford University says, "The connexion between law and religion thus established by Mohammad and adopted by his followers persisted through all later centuries.

Characteristically, all expositions of Muslim law begin with the 'religious duties' or 'acts of worship', such as ablution, prayer, and pligrimage. As in other Semitic religions, law is thought of, not as a product of human intelligence and adaptation to changing social needs and ideals, but of divine inspiration and hence immutable. For Muslims the main sources of law are the Qur'an and Prophetic Traditions ; and on this assumption the jurists and theologians of the second century elaborated a structure of law that is, from the point of view of logical perfection, one of the most brilliant essays of human reasoning.

According to Imam Suyuti, some 242 *Hadiths* had been recorded on the authority of Abu-Bakr and several of them relate to very vital problems of religion and society, e. g. zakat and prayers, etc. It was Abu-Bakr who illustrated the method of offering divine service and his exposition forms the basis of theological principles. There are nearly 316 utterances of the Prophet in which the virtues of Abu-Bakr have been extolled. The Professors of this school with their sermons from the pulpit of the mosque guided the Muslims in temporal and spiritual ways.

#### The two great Professors :

'Abdullah ibn Masud was one of the earliest converts who lived in the closest intimacy with the Prophet and many of the traditions are traced to him. Being a scholar of rare gifts and having lived in close proximity with the apostle of God, he was considered the fittest person to undertake the stupendous task of research. During his reign Umar having realised Masud's qualities of head and heart, appointed him Qadi at Kufah, for imparting religious instruction to the people. He died at Medina, about 653 A.D.

Abdullah [bn 'Abbas' the cousin of the Prophet, was the next authority on jurisprudence and besides possessing the rare gift of explaining the beauties of the Quran and the traditions he had an intimate and accurate

knowledge of the judicial decisions of the Prophet and the first three orthodox caliphs. He died at Taif about 687 A. D.

After these two eminent authorities the Medina school of jurists produced a succession of "seven jurists" who greatly enriched the Muslim jurisprudence.

### The Iraqi School.

In this connection one cannot pass on without taking note of the Iraqi school of the jurists, generally known as the "Ashab ur-Ray". The jurists of this school followed the deductive method and employed the use of analogy (Qiyas) and supplemented it by the *Ijama'-ul-Ummah* or consensus of opinion of the community. The greatest jurist of this school was Imam Abu Hanifa who was an intellectual giant and whose findings have been venerated throughout the Muslim world and respected by the greatest doctors of Muslim law.

### The collection of the Quran.

The apostle of God was illiterate, and the revelations of the Qur'an came to him at irregular intervals through the holy spirit (later on identified with the angel Gabriel) in 23 years. Because the Quran was revealed piecemeal its verses and chapters were preserved on the skin of the palm trees, leather, shoulder bones of goat and on parchments of papers, as they were dictated by the Prophet to his secretaries, especially Zayd bin Thabit. The whole of the Qur'an was not compiled in a book-form in the lifetime of the Prophet and it was mostly preserved in the heart of those who had committed it to memory and were styled as "Huffaz". The various materials on which the Qur'an was written remained in the custody of the Prophet. After the demise of the Prophet, Arabia was engulfed in wars. When a large number of the *companions* of the Prophet and the *Qurras* (those who had learnt the Quran by heart) met martyrdom in wars against the Byzantines and the Persians, 'Umar urged upon Abu-Bakr that he should collect the various verses of the Qur'an and compile them in the form of a book. Abu-Bakr at the out-set was reluctant to undertake a work which the Prophet himself had not done but 'Umar's proposal being very sound, the caliph invited Zayd bin Thabit—the Prophet's "Katib" or scribe—and asked him to undertake the compilation of the Quran. That the oversensitive Zayd was conscious of the huge responsibility of his undertaking which such a work involved could be inferred from the fact that while accepting to perform this duty he said "Had I been asked to

remove a mountain from its original site and shift it to another place, I would have thought it a lighter duty than the compilation of the Quran”.

Zayd bin Thabit worked laboriously day and night, and after comparing all the manuscripts which had been preserved and those which had been kept in the house of the Prophet and consulting the most distinguished *companions* of the Prophet brought out an authentic version in one volume in the same order in which it was preserved by the holy Prophet. He presented a copy of it to Abu-Bakr, who was himself a “*Hafiz*”. The caliph gave it the name of “*Mushaf*” and kept it in his custody, and it was in this manner that the Qur’an was compiled in the same order in which it exists today. Thus Abu-Bakr rendered the most signal service to Islam by preserving a book which has withstood the test of ages and which without any variations has retained the *solidilarity* and unity of all the Muslims spread on the globe.

#### Mysticism or “*Tasawwuf*”:—

The exponents of “*Tasawwuf*”, or “Theosophic Mysticism” which differs so much from the orthodox views of the “*Mutakallimun*” or the early traditionists, in their effort to trace out the divine origin of their teachings, claim that the various *Tariqas* (the high roads to reality) rest upon the Qur’an and the Hadith, they acknowledge Abu-Bakr as their first “*Murshid*” or “*Imam*”, who expounded the secrets of the unity of God and “*Kalimah*” etc. Shah Wali Ullah in his much beloved work “*Izalatul-Khafa*” mentions that Abu-Bakr possessed all those qualities which stand at the very root of their system, *e. g.* “*Tawakkul*” (belief in predestination) ‘*Firast-i-Mominin*’ (the sagacity of the believers), ‘*Ajz*’ (humility) and love and fear of God, and realized the true sense of “*Tauhid*” (unity of God). The ‘*Naqshbandiya*’ sect of the *Sufis* who trace out their connection through Imam Jāfar Sadiq regard Abu-Bakr as their first source of spiritual blessing. The famous *Sufi*, Junayd, considers that the last exposition of “*Tawakkul*” was made by Abu-Bakr when he said “Glory be to the Lord who has not set any other path for his creatures save that of “*Ajz*” (humility). The *Sufis* rightly interpret the sacrifices of Abu-Bakr; his bestowal of the whole of his wealth at the time of Tabuk expedition, the various acts of piety, and his indifference to outward display of pomp and show, and selflessness which could serve the *Sufis* as models worth imitating. In his address on the Prophet’s death he expounded the articles of faith and differentiated “*Prophethood*” from “*Divinity*”. His unbounded love for the Prophet could best be seen when he adopted the title of the

caliph of the Prophet of Allah instead of the Caliph of God. In their zeal to glorify Abu-Bakr the *Sufis* exalted him to the rank of "*Diminai'-i-Kubra*" and established his relationship with the Prophet Abraham.

#### Art:—

Lastly, we will take up Art. It is worthy of note that the hedonist Arabs, fond of music, poetry and wine from remote antiquity, who worshipped the various gods and goddesses of stone some of them being rare work of sculpture—could not become stoics overnight. Islam could not suddenly obliterate their time-old traditions. Even the patriarchal age could not efface the Arabian art. That the love of poetry<sup>1</sup> and female singers and music, the chief fashionable pastimes of the people in which the rich and poor indulged very freely, did not die out. The Persian and Greek war prisoners taught the Arabs how to sing in accompaniment with musical instruments in place of '*duff*' (hand drum) and they could soon play on Tanbūrīn, the flute and the lute. Persian notes and airs were secretly played in the underground cells of the Arab houses. A number of singers rose up in Makkah, who sang for the love of pleasure, and gaiety. The orthodox Muslim Government from the very beginning looked askance at the finer arts which were considered frivolous and detrimental to the moral well being of the believers. Hence Abu-Bakr's government prohibited songs, destroyed musical instruments and moral censors were employed to bring the delinquents to book. During the reign of Abu-Bakr, the finer arts received a set-back and artistic activities were chilled down for a time.

#### Status of women:—

In the pre-Islamic times woman was denied legal rights. To the Christian priests and theologians she was still "a necessary evil, a natural temptation, a desirable calamity, a domestic peril, a painted ill". She was still looked upon as the reincarnation of the Eve and the favoured instrument of Satan in leading men to hell. Abu-Bakr brought home to the people teachings of the holy Qur'an, that there was no difference between man and woman as preached by the Holy Prophet and both the sexes could rise to spiritual heights. She could purchase, own, inherit and dispose of the property as any other person of the opposite sex. She had freedom to do any work to earn her livelihood and the greatest sanctity was attached to family life. Today, perhaps, the Muslim women enjoy far bigger property rights than the English or French women or



the women of any other European country. Women were not secluded or shut up within the four walls of the harem. There was no segregation of sexes. The women daily attended the divine service in the mosques, worked in the fields, joined the army, fought the enemy and stirred up men not to quit the battlefield and nursed the wounded. To maintain the exalted position of women granted to them under Islam, Abu-Bakr made no deviation from the rules laid down by the Prophet. No partiality was shown to the male sex. In all those cases which came up to him for hearing Abu-Bakr made no distinction between the status of man and woman.

#### **Magnanimity shown to non-Muslims:—**

The Prophet set the noble example of toleration towards non-Muslims. He maintained cordial relations with them. In the treaty of Najran with Christians the last clause was, "It is on the condition that none of their churches will be demolished. None of their priests will be exiled and no one will be asked to give up his faith". After the assumption of Caliphate, Abu-Bakr stuck to the same treaty and extended the same humane treatment to the Christians. The privileges which the Prophet had granted to them were maintained by Abu-Bakr. A number of cases have been cited by the chroniclers in which the Caliph pronounced judgments in favour of non-Muslims who had complained against the Muslim administrators, Abu-Bakr's Government did not allow the Arabs to purchase land in the countries conquered by them. Fixation of *Kharaj* and assessment of land was never made without the consultation of the chiefs of non-Muslims under the rule of the Caliph. It was this human treatment which endeared the Muslim rule to all non-Muslims. The latter considered the enemies of the former as their own enemies and often gave valuable information to the Muslims regarding the enemy movement.

#### **The simplicity of domestic life and dress:—**

By the time of Abu-Bakr, Arabia boasted of no buildings and a few structures like that of *Ka'bah* which existed were devoid of architectural grandeur. The houses of the people were built of stone or brick and even the Prophet's mosque at Medina was a humble structure covered with plastered earth. Generally, the Arab houses were single storeyed with a courtyard and a wall. It was only after 'Umar's reign that foreign architecture began to decorate the Islamic metropolis. Houses of the rich

were covered with rugs and carpets but were devoid of any decorative furniture like chairs and tables. Every house was divided by a partition which separated the ladies compartment. The Arabs took their meals on carpets. There were no knives, forks or spoons and the people ate with fingers. Even after the termination of the orthodox caliphate Medina is said to have retained its austere and rigid morality where—as the Makkans and other Arabs soon indulged themselves in gay and reckless dissipations.

### Their dress —

The typical national dress of an Arab of those days whether male or female, consisted, as it does now, of one single long shirt which came upto the knees over which he or she tied a girdle made of leather. After times the Arabs were wont to throw a cloak over their shoulders. Trousers were worn when going for the battlefield or for riding a horse or a camel. The peculiar head dress of an Arab excited curiosity. It consisted of a long Kerchief and was embriodered with tassels thrown from the head and coming upto the neck while it was tied round the head with a cord of camel's hair. The aristocratic "*Shapkhs*", wore a '*Jubbah*' or '*Aba*' (a cloak or an apron) over their shirt.

The women covered their head with a scarf which they tied round their forehead. The fashionable ladies of the city wore a *shalwar* and a jacket

### The conclusion:—

My paper does not cover all and detailed aspects of the people's cultural life in those days, for each one of these will require a separate and long discussion. At this time I have made an attempt to give you just a bird's-eye-view of some cultural aspects of Abu-Bakr's reign, which, I hope, may supply impetus for further research in this direction and bring a good influence to bear on our lives as good Muslims and messengers of peace

## THE ISLAMIC INTEPRETATION OF HISTORY

History is the all-inclusive store-house of man's social experience which has been eagerly ransacked, in all ages, by men who had any religious, moral or social thesis to prove. It is characteristic of such attempts that most of them have marshalled historical evidence on their side with a fair degree of seeming plausibility, according to the standards of the times. However illogical these attempts may seem to us, they did succeed, in their own day, in convincing a great many people. As mankind has marched along the road of progress it has looked back and smiled at the philosophies of the past and propounded over new interpretations of its history. Thus whereas the ancients were statisfied with seeing in history the working of the magical powers of the gods and the oracles, the medieval world clearly discerned in it the unquestioned sway of the priests. The advent of the modern age brought with it rationalism and all that it stands for. Superstitious or dogmatic versions of history were now no longer acceptable. Historical interpretations had now to receive the sanction of reason instead of superstition and religious dogma.

Hegel was the first to make this attempt and though his dialectic is a curious combination of logic and mysticism, he succeeded remarkably in carrying Europe off its feet. Aggressive nationalism was latent in the new economic order emerging in Europe and Hegelianism provided a sound foundation for the nationalist cult. The Hegelian metaphysical nonsense was eagerly swallowed by secular Europe because he had spurned religion and idealized the state in its place. History, for Hegel, was the very moving balance of contradictory, self-developing spiritual forces, embodied in various historical *nations*. This process had culminated in the birth of the Germanic nations who according to Hegel were destined to be the spiritual leaders of Europe and the word.

But nationalism had within it the seeds of disruption. It was the convenient philosophy of the middle class and long before its logical implications could be realized, Karl Marx challenged the validity of Hegel's interpretation of History. Accepting Hegel's dialectic as a sound method, he contented that the categories in the ever moving historical equation were not the nation units but economic classes. All History should, therefore, be interpreted as a struggle between these classes to own the instruments of production. Economic forces are the fundamental

fact in each society and religious or moral ideology is no more than a rationalization of the contemporary economic set-up. It is the economic forces, in other words, which determine consciousness and not *visé versa*. Hegel's error lay in this very fact. With Hegel, the dialectic was standing 'upside down' and Karl Marx claimed to have put it 'the right way up'.

But Marx's dialectical materialism is as open to logical objections as Hegel's idealization. Just as the latter's ever developing world spirit had found a final repose in the Germanic nations, so also the former's perpetual class-war was to end with the rise to power of the proletariat. At all former stages of history, the existence of an exploited class had prepared the way for further struggle. With the emancipation and the rise to power of the working classes, this exploited class was to disappear and the world-wide class struggle was to end. So whether we turn to Hegel or to Marx, we find ourselves landed in a utopia of mystification and illusion. These utopias may provide an excellent escape to the idealist, they cannot but disappoint the hard-headed realist. So we find that though the ancient and medieval interpretations of history were more often than not only flights of phantasy, the two modern versions also fail to carry us far. With all their logical glamour, they lead us to realms where complacency and metaphysics reign supreme.

The practical manifestations of Hegelianism and Marxism are little more encouraging. Nationalism, the best fruit of the former, is today perhaps the gratest curse of mankind, and communism, the upshot of the latter, is threatening to deprive man of his most cherished liberties. The dictatorship of the working class which Marx saw only as a passing phase, bids fair to be the capstone of his system. In fact the greatest dilemma before man today is whether to starve and enjoy the liberties of the nationalist camp or to be fed well and languish in the prison yard of totalitarianism.

Having cast a glance at the western interpretations of history, it is now time that we looked at the Islamic interpretation. Let it be understood at the outset that Islam is a religion of reason and light and does its best to dispel all mystification and obscurantism. It seeks to provide an ideal code of life, both for individual and society and makes 'certain permanent ethical values the basis of this life'. It confesses at the very outset that other ways of life are possible and are in fact being practised. Unlike Hegelism and Marxism, Islam ascribes no iron necessity to history which must eliminate, in the final stage, all grating factors and leave the

ideal way of life the sole master of man's social destiny. As long as the world lasts, man will continue to go astray and incur the wrath of Allah! So the seekers of the right path have been asked to pray several times a day saying "Lead us on the right path."

The clearest implication of this prayer is that at no stage in history is any determinism to be looked for. Man will always have the freest choice between good and evil and will never find either of these paths blocked before him.

He must choose between the two, entirely on his own responsibility, for he has been granted the light of reason and revelation. In the words of the Qurān: "We have shown him the right path and he may now either choose to be grateful or ungrateful". So here we find no determinism, no mystification and no illusion. Islam is the religion of nature, for it is the only religion suited to the true demands of the human soul. Human nature is so constituted that it will automatically sense the beauty of the true faith. All the same, the temptations of the grosser self are made equally strong and man must choose between the two. This has been true in the past and will continue to be true in the future. That is why the 'Complete faith' tells its followers to invoke continually Allah's assistance to enable them to choose the path of virtue. Marxism may paint a stage of history where classes are non-existent and the potent source of all human woes dries up, Islam has no such utopia to offer. The faithful are warned to be always on their guard against the temptations of the lower self. The example is set personally by the last of the Prophets (Peace be on him) by constantly seeking Allah's help against such temptations.

Islam interprets history neither as a constantly moving equilibrium between self developing spiritual forces nor as a constant clash between economic classes but as a perpetual tussel between the forces of good and evil. According to the Quran, before Adam descends on this earthly abode, Satan stands pledged to lead astray his progeny and proudly boast, 'I shall come to them from their right and from their left and you will not find the majority of them to be grateful.' To this the reply is "As for my servants, you shall have no authority on them". So the war between the forces of evil and good has been going on ever since man appeared on the earth and will continue till the world ends; for evil has been given respite "Till the appointed term"; the one thing which is explicitly stated, with respect to the outcome of this struggle is that

truth must win in the long run, and the gains on the side of falsehood must be short lived. This is a theme to which the Quran frequently refers and quotes instances, from history, both past and contemporary, to prove it. It does not even hesitate to pronounce the ultimate doom of all future champions of the cause of evil. Note the conviction of its assertion in "And many a city revolted against the command of the 'Lord' and His apostles. So We took from it a stern reckoning and inflicted on it a terrible chastisement. It tasted the evil consequences of its deeds and the ultimate outcome of its actions was nothing but frustration". And when the Prophet (peace be on him) flees from Mecca, he is comforted by the assurance, "And many a city was more powerful than the city that has cast you out. We destroyed them all and they could find no helper."

So what the Quran promises is not the extinction of the forces of evil but only their ultimate discomfiture. The path of rectitude, both in individual and social life, is the normal path, fully conforming to the true inner urges of human nature. Peoples and countries which follow it, fulfil their destiny and when they leave the world they are fully satisfied with the results of their efforts. Others, on the contrary, who deviate from this path, are beguiled for a time by the seeming prosperity of their cause. But their doom overtakes them soon and they leave the world with a sense of futility and frustration. Numerous illustrations from history are scattered throughout the Quran and many of them, especially the story of Moses and the Pharaoh, are repeated several times. The lesson drawn each time is that the march of history is not a confused whirl of unrelated events, but the un-mistakable unfolding of certain well-defined, inexorable moral laws. They operate with a vengeance comparable to that of the physical laws. But their working is rather slow and imperceptible to many. These eternal moral laws, like the laws of nature, are called by the Quran 'Ayat' or 'signs'. The consequences of these laws slowly but surely overtake the transgressors, who are bewildered by the suddenness of the calamity, although it had been developing round them for a long time. Mark the graphic picture drawn by the Quran. "Those who act contrary to our laws (ayat) we overtake them by degrees and in ways which they comprehend not". And again, "We only grant them respite, but verily our plan is absolutely thorough-going". The Muslims of Medina are told, "It is He who caused the non-believers from amongst the people of the Book, to quit their homes on the first banishment. You never thought they would leave and they themselves believed that their

fortunes would save them. But Allah overtook them from whence they knew not and He put fright into their hearts so that they themselves pulled down their houses and some were pulled down by the believers. So learn a lesson, O, you possessed of understanding”.

Islam views history as a perpetual struggle between two groups of people, viz., those who have shaped their lives in conformity with the immutable laws of God and those who have not. The latter must, of necessity, come to grief in the long run. The respite granted to the upholders of the wrong cause always gives them the false assurance of being the winners in the struggle and it also tries very sorely the patience and fortitude of the champions of truth. This fact has often proved to be the pitfall of the generality of men. They are prone to be carried off their feet by immediate, spectacular results. “Man is hasty” as the Quran puts it and wants instantaneous reward or retribution. This is impossible in the nature of things. So whereas Islam proclaims victory for the right cause, it also speaks of the long and taxing ordeal through which it will have first to pass. In the words of the Quran “At last things came to such a pass that the apostles lost hope and thought that they had been rejected. Just then Our succour arrived. And our retribution can never be turned away from the guilty people”.

Another important point about the Islamic interpretation of history is that ultimate triumph or failure is ordained for a cause only and not for individuals. In fact even very prominent individuals may not see in their own life time the triumph of the noble cause for which they fought. The Quran quotes instances of persons, some of whom were even apostles, who fell victims to ignorant aggression. Similarly the sins of the fathers may be visited on their sons. At one place the Quran quotes the progeny of the wicked, as saying “verily our forefathers associated others with Allah, before us and we, as their progeny, have only followed them. Will you, then, destroy us for the deeds of those evil-doers?” In a word, for Islam, history holds out no promise of poetic justice. All the same, there is no denying the fact that a noble cause must ultimately win and a false one must necessarily fail in the long run.

Another very important thing to be noted is that unlike Hegelian or Marxian Philosophy no particular nation or class is identified with the upholders of the ideal cause. True, that the Muslims are described as “the best people raised in the world, because they order the doing of the accepted virtue and forbid the doing of undesirable things” but this

privileged position is tenable only as long as they fulfil the qualifying condition. See in what un-mistakable terms they are being warned, "If you turn back, He will raise another people in your place who will not be like you in this respect. "So honour, dignity and leadership are not the close preserve of any particular people or a class but they are the reward of any people who come out successful in the qualifying test.

As pointed out earlier, in the language of the Quarn both moral laws and laws of nature are 'the signs of Allah' and their disregard is followed by equally stern punishments. People who scoff at the physical laws are as much guilty as those who make light of the moral laws. Let the Quran speak itself on this point, "Verily there are signs for the believers in the heavens and the earth. And in your own creation and the animals so widely spread, there are signs for those who have faith. And in the phenomenon of day and night, and what is sent down from the skies for livelihood, so that the earth again comes to life after its death and in the blowing of the winds, there are signs for a people possessed of understanding. All these are the signs of Allah narrated to you with truth, then in what things, besides Allah and His signs, will you put your faith? Woe to the sinful liar who hears the signs of Allah being narrated and turns away haughtily as though he has not heard. So warn him of painful chastisement. And when he learns of any thing about our signs, he scoffs at it. These it is for whom there is a disgraceful punishment. Behind them there is hell; all that they did availed them naught, nor did the associates they set up with Allah do them any good for them there is a great punishment."

In short, Islam sees in history the un-questioned sway of the laws of the moral and the physical world, and a people who aspire to be the chosen people must pay due regard to them both. Disregard of the one is as criminal as indifference to the other. Legitimate comforts of the flesh are as desirable as is the food of the soul. A sane balance between the two is the essence of the path of rectitude. Here again let the Quran speak. "Say, who has made unlawful the embellishments and the nice foods created by Allah for His servants? Say; they are meant for the believers in this earthly life, though they will be their close preserve in the life to come.

In a word, Islam views history as a pageant of countless peoples, flitting across the stage of history and making their mark to the extent to which they mould their lives in conformity with the immutable spiritual



and physical laws. Apart from the inexorable logic of those laws, there is no dire necessity or determinism in history. There is nothing mystical about these laws ; discernable as they are to anyone who cares to study their working. They operate with perfect impartiality and with a grim vengeance, so that every people has to bless or blame itself for the role assigned to it by history.

Political domination is one of the choicest divine gifts to which a people may aspire. The bestowal of this gift, however, is due neither to the whim of a capricious supreme being nor is it the reward of a fanatical orthodoxy which scoffs at reason and logic. It is rather the reward of competence, both spiritual and material. It is a very significant fact that the word used by the Qurān denoting this competence is *Salih* and there could hardly be a better word in Arabic to convey the idea of an ideal competence. So a people must first deserve, by becoming '*Salih*' and then political ascendancy will automatically follow. In the words of the Qurān " Verily the earth belongs to Allah and he grants its rulership to whomsoever of His servants He pleases. " But this divine pleasure is not capricious for " verily the earth is inherited by My competent servants. " And again, " Allah has promised the rulership of the earth to those who believe and do good deeds just as He granted the rulership of the earth to those before you ". But once a people become worthy of this chosen favour, it does not follow that they must retain it in perpetuity. The way in which political power is exercised will alone determine how long it will last. In the words of the Qurān, " so that He might make you the rulers of the world and then see how you behave. " If then after a period, long or short, a people forfeits the privilege of being the rulers of the world, it has to blame itself only, for according to the Qurān, " Verily Allah does not change the fate of a people, unless they themselves change. "

It is clear, then, that according to the Qurān there is no dire necessity in history driving a people or a class to an inevitable doom. Glory and ignominy for individuals, as well as for nations, is the direct outcome of their moral and material competence. Fortunate is the nation which can acquire this dual competence and maintain a healthy balance between the two, for thus alone will it continue to be '*Salih*' and enjoy the choicest of divine favours.

The Hegelian interpretation of history takes no account of the individuals as such.

The self-developing world spirit embodies itself in successive historical nations and the highest virtue of the individual consists in submerging himself into this self-knowing entity, to the extent of losing his own separate entity. The real consciousness is the consciousness of the state; individuals realize themselves to the extent to which they reflect this consciousness. They must beware of their own whims, if they happen to be at variance with the purpose of the self-knowing state; for in such an event such whims are no more than ugly phantasies.

The rule of the individual, according to Marx's dialectical materialism is no better. He is only an insignificant part of an economic class and his consciousness is determined wholly by the consciousness of that class. The consciousness of his class, in its turn, is the automatic reflection of fundamental economic forces. So the individual's role in history is as unimportant in Marxism as it is in Hegelianism.

In refreshing contrast to these philosophies of history, Islam assigns to the individuals a position of the fullest responsibility. He is to account for his deeds, as much in his individual capacity as in his capacity as the member of a community. It is the individual's sacred duty to examine carefully the foundation of the society in which he happens to be born, and strive to alter them if he finds them wrong. Moses, according to the Qurān, is the classical example of such an individual. If, however, the individual's best efforts prove futile he should part company with his inequitable people; otherwise he will not escape the retribution of God. We find Lot and his followers leaving their homes before the wrath of Allah descends upon their evildoing people. Had they failed to do so, or had they not done their best to deliver the message of Allah, they must have shared the fate of the rest.

Islam assigns a very significant role to the individual in history. But individual virtue, by itself, cannot carry him very far. He must also strive to make his people virtuous. Virtue, however, implies a life in conformity with the laws of nature, both moral and physical. Ultimate supremacy is ordained for virtue alone, but a long and hard road has to be covered before this supremacy is achieved.

In short the Islamic interpretation of history is as scientific as one could imagine. There is nothing mystical or deterministic about it. The Qurān continually appeals to historical evidence to prove the eternal truth of the fundamental laws of life and challenges its opponents to refute this evidence if they can. What more could be required to make the Islamic interpretation of history scientific? It is high time that we did justice to this particular aspect of the Qurān.

## SOVEREIGNTY IN ISLAM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE.

Before entering into a discussion of the actual theory and practice of sovereignty in Islam, I deem it proper to give a short historical background of the doctrine of sovereignty as maintained in the European world, throughout ancient, medieval and modern ages, so that we might do full justice to the Islamic conception of sovereignty and appreciate and assess its worth.

From the stand-point of political science there may be different branches of sovereignty but it always indicates highest governmental or legal authority of some kind. Sovereignty is a significant term in International Law, Constitutional Law and Political philosophy. Sovereignty is always considered to be a necessary qualification for full membership in the family of nations. Subjects in whom rest firm rights and obligations are only states. A given community can be termed a state only when it is independent of legal command and is lawfully free to decide its relations with the rest of the communities. The controls and decrees of international law do not issue from a political superior to a political inferior. This does not result in the weakening of the 'external' sovereignty of the different communities or states. Every state as a sovereign community has the legal authority to determine its own form of Government. The state is also independent to govern, its territory, citizens and subjects, as it chooses.

The statement that the idea of sovereignty is peculiar to modern political and legal theory, is valid only in a restricted sense. In classical Greek political theory the state was not sovereign in the sense of being above law, The command of customary, unwritten and universal law ranged superior. Broadly speaking, there is hardly any difference in ancient and modern ideas about sovereignty. Ancient philosophers assigned higher authoritativeness to the state. Aristotle defined state, "the highest of all associations..... which embraced all the rest". Greek and Roman thinkers attempted to confine the 'supreme power' within the state. During early middle ages organised control over the citizens and the subjects within a given political community was shared generally by several authorities-Roman church, Holy Roman Empire, King, Feudal lord, chartered town and guild. In the later middle ages, due to economic and social changes, powerful national monarchies developed concurrently with the decline of medieval ideas and institutions. To make the claims of monarchs good it was necessary to deny imperial or papal

authority outside the state.' In this denial the idea of a sovereign national political authority was implied. In the late sixteenth century Joan Bodin defined sovereignty as "highest power over citizens and subjects, unrestrained by laws". He further said, "the chief mark of sovereignty is the power to give law to all citizens, generally and singly". Bodin is, therefore, regarded as the founder of the doctrine of sovereignty'. But he restricted the power of the sovereign by natural and divine laws and "the laws of the realm". Bodin may not be clear in his expositions, but he attempted to establish that the laws originate only from the authority of the political sovereign who himself is above law. Later thinkers went further. Hobbes maintained that laws are nothing but the command of a political sovereign, who is subject to no legal limits. Divine or natural laws according to Hobbes, have no importance for the sovereign. Rousseau in the 18th century maintained that sovereignty resides in the General Will which has no legal limitations: "the sovereign, being formed wholly of the individuals who compose it, has and can have, no interest contrary to theirs". The sovereign of Rousseau is subject to the General Will only,

In the 19th century practical political considerations forced the formation of a rigid doctrine of legal sovereignty, an authority which was unrestrained by law. Austin and the thinkers of the German Empire advocated this doctrine. These Utilitarians declared law as a means of securing justice and common welfare and thus subject to changes and alterations by the sovereign powers. Sovereign agencies were to be unrestricted by vague demands of universal justice or national mind. This absolutist conception of law is an indispensable general principle of the present day doctrine of state. It lays down that within any independent political society there is a decisive sovereign whose orders and permissions, whether direct or indirect, explicit or implicit, establish the law and who is above law. In every state there is an individual or body or a group of individuals or bodies with absolute, unlimited legal power. To the contemporary world this doctrine applies in full. But there is a difference between sovereign power and the governmental machinery. The sovereign can make and change the fundamental laws, while the government is free only within the limits of these laws.

Again, there is also a difference between 'legal' and 'political' sovereignty. Political sovereignty is described as the power which is obeyed ultimately. If within any given community the people apply the pressure of their actual power and force, over the formal supreme power

to abide by their desires, then it is the people which is politically sovereign while the formal authority remains only as legal sovereign. The question is as to how the laws operate and how they are improved. Duguit and other critics maintain that customs and imperatives are real laws, whether they are enforced by the state or not. While Laski and others regard 'consciences of individual men' or the 'sense of right' or the whole community as the source of law. The former thinkers set up 'objective' standards, while the latter 'subjective' standards in determining sovereignty. But in each case the unique and important position of the traditional sovereignty of the state remains undisturbed.

The modern state is torn between Socialism, Individualism, Idealism and Anarchism—those who uphold the sovereignty of the state, those who advocate the liberty and importance of the individual, those who try to bring about reconciliation between the two, and lastly those who are against the state and the government as such.

After this brief introduction of the Western conception of sovereignty I now come to the discussion of sovereignty in Islam. But, before I deal with the actual theory of Islamic polity, a brief survey of the meaning and implications of Islam would help us a lot in understanding the problem under discussion.

Islam, as the word implies, means submission and obedience. Islam is called by this name because it is submission and obedience to the Will of Allah. A follower of Islam must act according to the will of Allah and must obey His commands. Islam also signifies (Salamti) and thus stands for peace. More comprehensive meaning will be 'striving after righteousness'. There is absolutely no difference between the 'submission and obedience to the will of Allah', and 'striving after righteousness'. Righteousness is nothing but the path shown by Allah. Islam is not a religion but a (Din)—a complete code of life which covers every aspect of an individual life from his birth to his death and from the grave to the yonder world. Islam is a body of doctrines and a code of practices. Islam puts forth a philosophy of life concerning the individual's conception of himself, his Allah and the universe, that is, all around him. Islam is thus a philosophy of action and a way of life. It is a transformation of the individual, of the family, of the society, of the state and of humanity; it is a revival, moral and intellectual; and the attainment of the highest pinnacle of civilization both spiritually and materially. Further, it must

be borne in mind that religion and politics cannot be separated in Islam. Religion is not the private affair of a Muslim. The Islamic conception of economic life has no distinct theory. We cannot form a separate political theory of Islam. No watertight compartments can be made of different aspects of life according to Islam. In Islam, the state, Miltat, Imam, the individual and government are interlinked and cannot exist in isolation from one another. In Islam, Allah and the Universe, Church and the State, Spirit and Matter are all organic to each other. For the world of matter, a Muslim need not renounce the world of spirit. Islam is thus a "single unanalysable reality". It is, therefore, absolutely wrong to conclude that it is possible to form a separate Islamic 'political' theory which will have nothing to do with any other aspect of human life. Sovereignty in Islam, cannot be confined to political supremacy alone. It must, therefore, be all-embracing.

Now I come to the subject proper. Initially I shall try to show where 'legal' and 'political' sovereignty resides in Islam. An attempt then will be made to prove as to how that sovereignty devolves elsewhere. In the end the practical working of that sovereignty will be discussed.

The aim or goal of Islam—or for that matter of humanity is the realisation and perfection of the individual self, both inwardly and outwardly and the advancement of humanity both spiritually and materially. This ideal can be achieved only if the path is known and shown. For this guidance is necessary and essential in every sphere of human activity. Such details are available in Islam or to be more precise in the Holy Quran. The Quran declares. "We showed him the way : whether he be grateful or ungrateful (rests on his will)" (LXXVI—3).

Guidance is necessary for mankind. Besides his faculties which guide man in his affairs he has been shown the correct way by means of revelation. Allah is the best and true guide. He has provided full guidance. Even Muhammad (be peace on him) cannot guide. Thus the very basis of Islamic sovereignty will be those principles or fundamentals which were revealed to the Prophet of Islam. Muhammad (be peace on him) derived his power from his divine office and from nothing else. He established an organised, all-embracing society based on revelation.

In Islam, Allah is the sovereign. In an Islamic state sovereignty rests with Allah. He is Almighty, Omnipresent, and Omnipotent. Allah is the Creator, Sustainer and Nourisher of all the worlds. His sovereignty

extends to all the heavens, invisible, to the entire universe are governed by the sovereignty of Allah is not limited to geographical boundaries, known to particular people or territory. His sovereignty is not bound by space and time. He is the sovereign of the universe alike. His sovereignty is not limited to one aspect of human life. The entire universe belongs to Allah and therefore it is the Will, Word or Law of Allah which is supreme and sovereign. He alone, is, therefore, the law-giver.

Here I shall quote some verses from the Holy Quran in support of the sovereignty of Allah.

1. "But your God is one God ; submit then your wills to Him." (XXII—34).

2. "To Him belong the dominions (in the heavens and the earth) and to Him belongs praise ; and He has power over all things" (LXIV—1).

3. "What : do they take for intercessors others besides God ? Say : or whatever and intelligence ", (XXXIX—43).

4. "To God belong all glory and Power ". (XXXV—10).

5. "For Him is to command' ". (XXVIII—70).

6. "Then set not up rivals unto God when ye know (the truth)". (II-22).

Shall we still resist it and self, poetry, art, science and power ?

The following chief characteristics of the sovereignty in Islam can now be deduced from the above verses of the Quran.

1. No individual, group, society, nation or international authority can lay claim to sovereignty. Allah alone is the sovereign.
2. The Islamic state is essentially God-conscious and as such no Muslim, no Khalifa and not even the whole Ummat can become supreme. Even Muhammad (be peace on him) could not claim sovereignty.

3. Allah alone is the law-giver. No individual Muslim, no Amir and not even the whole community can frame laws. They cannot even modify. Even if the whole Ummat agrees the laws of Allah cannot be altered or abrogated.

4. The Islamic state must be based on the basic principles laid down in the Quran. The state and the government must act on these principles. None can transgress the limits set up by Allah.

5. The supremacy and sovereignty of the Will and Word of Allah are not confined to a certain limited sphere of a Muslim's activity or of the state.

6. From the Unity of God springs unity of Muslims and beyond it, the unity of the entire human race.

7. Allah is sovereign both 'legal' and 'political'. In Islam there is not the rule of one person or one will or of more than one, but it is the Rule of God and the Will of God.

8. The Quran is the best guide and last word.

Thus, according to Islamic conception, Allah is sovereign in a Muslim state based on the revelations to the Prophet. But this sovereignty of Allah in theory is also to be worked out in practice. The problem, is therefore, as to how the sovereignty of Allah is to be manifested and maintained within a given Islamic state. That I shall discuss presently.

Islam does not believe and has never claimed that human beings have reached that stage of perfection where there is no need of any orderly society, state or guidance. Guidance and the need of an organised human society was, therefore, necessary from the very beginning and will ever remain as such till humanity has realised its goal of salvation.

Submission and obedience to the Will of Allah; compliance with His laws, execution of His orders and the enforcement of good, equity and justice have always remained as the first duty of mankind. But from the very beginning, ignorance, evil and mischief also flourished. Under such circumstances the task of enforcement of truth and good and the elimination of oppression and falsehood were to be entrusted by Allah to such an individual or a group of individuals who believe in the commands of Allah,



act accordingly, enjoin good and forbid wrong and strive after righteousness. Thus the vicegerency of Allah upon earth was to devolve or to be bestowed upon those who were to believe in the divine principles and were to struggle for their establishment. Allah thus selected different peoples for different areas at different times who may guide humanity to the right path as instructed by the Best Guide. And the Prophets appeared one after the other. Muhammad (peace be on him) came as the last of the prophets, He presented Islam before humanity through his actions and sayings, in its perfect and final shape. He not only brought a message but also founded and established a society and a state. He was a Messenger of Allah as far as the mission was concerned but he was also the head of a polity of which Almighty Allah was sovereign. Muhammad (be peace on him) derived his power from his Divine office and not from the Ummat, which he himself created. The laws of the realm were the Divine commands rather than human ordinances at the head of which he stood as the representative of God upon earth.

As no prophet was to come after him, the prophetic mission ended with Muhammad (peace be on him). But apart from this prophetic mission he was to preach and propagate Islam, he was the custodian of the life of his Ummat and was the civil and political head of the ideal state he had established. After his death, naturally, these functions devolved upon the Ummat. The Ummat or the community of Islam as a whole became the vicegerent of God upon earth.

According to the Qurān all human beings are the vicegerents of God upon earth. But there is a marked difference between those who believe and act according to the Message of Allah and those who do not. It is clear that those who do not believe and act according to the will of Allah cannot be the recipient of His delegated powers. Thus according to the Qurān the chosen few are none else except the believers in Islam. Allah has selected this group from amongst human beings to be His vicegerents upon earth. Here I shall quote some verses from the Holy Qurān to show that the vicegerency rests with the Ummat as a whole.

1. "It is He who has made you (His) agents, inheritors, (Khalifas) of the earth. He has raised you in ranks some above others: that He may try you in the gifts He has given". (VI—165).

2. "O David:—We did indeed make thee vicegerent on earth: so judge thou between men in truth (and justice)". (XXXVIII—26).

3. "Behold! thy Lord said to the angels, "I will create a vicegerent on earth". (II—30).

After the death of the Prophet, Hazrat Abu Bakr succeeded him. The argument that Hazrat Abu Bakr's election was done in haste, that the gathering which elected him was not representative, or that no other candidate was in the field, is contrary to facts. The urgency demanded no delay. Moreover the next day general "Bait" (oath of fealty) was offered. The majority of the Ansars, and some Muhajirin were present at Saqifa bani Sa'da. The names of four candidates were proposed to contest the election. The conclusion is that successorship to the Prophet or the claim to represent the Umma is not the birth right of any particular tribe, clan or individual but every Muslim has equal claim to this Khilafat. More than one candidate contested the election, a lively discussion followed and the choice fell upon the best person available. This head of the Muslim community was the immediate successor to the Prophet but in reality he was the elected representative of the whole Ummat. The elected 'Chief' is the embodiment of the power of the community and not an independent authority in himself. He enjoyed only delegated powers. On the one hand, this head is responsible to Allah as he is to act according to the Will of Allah, and on the other, he is responsible to the Ummat whose nominee 'he' happens to be. The Ummat is free to depose him as it has elected him. This is, in short, the Social Contract theory of Islam, which Rousseau could conceive of several centuries afterwards.

The Qur'an has nowhere declared that the head of the Muslim state is to be a single individual. It may be a single individual as in the case of Khulafa-i-Rashidin, it can be more than one, or it can be a group of individuals like the present legislatures. The Quran has also laid down certain rules to be observed. Firstly, as every Muslim is equal in the sight of Allah, each has equal right to Khilafat. Thus Khilafat becomes an office to be contested and hence elective. Secondly, the criterion for any position or office in Islamic society is superiority from the point of faith and piety. Thirdly, the Qur'an lays down the ideal condition for the working of an Islamic state. "Who (conduct) their affairs by mutual consultation". (XLII—38).

The possibility of concentration of power and its misuse is ruled out for ever.

The Quran declares. "Obey God. His prophet and those in authority from amongst you". (Q. VII). To obey Allah is simply to act according to the dictates of the Quran; to obey the Prophet is to act according to the teachings and sayings of 'the Prophet'; and to obey the properly constituted political power in an Islamic state, is to carry out His orders and commands. As this is a Quranic injunction, nobody can dispute the contention. But this can be interpreted in another way. Sovereignty resides in that power which is the source of law. Our first source of law is no doubt the Book of Allah. In matters where the Quran is not explicit or has not given details, the sunnah (the actions and sayings of the Prophet) will work as the second source of law. If in some places even the sunnah is silent, then 'those in authority from amongst you' act as the third source of law. This third source is further sub-divided into the 'consensus of opinion' (اجماع) and 'analogy' (قياس) Thus in Islam, as the Quran itself suggests, there are four sources of law. But this does not mean that in an Islamic state there are four sovereign powers. On the contrary, sovereignty rests with Allah alone. Naturally therefore, there must be complete accord and unanimity between these different sources of law. If there is any conflict and difference between the laws promulgated by the head of the state and a sunnah a Muslim is bound to follow the latter and not the former. Again, if sunnah and the Quran differ on any issue then the Quran shall prevail on the sunnah. In other words, ordinarily no conflict is possible between laws, promulgated by the head of the state, and the Quran and the sunnah. The ideal being the same, the path to achieve that ideal must also be the same.

I have maintained so far that Allah is sovereign, that the Quran is the source of law and that the whole Ummat cannot lay claim to sovereignty. From this line of argument adopted by me it should not be misunderstood that Islamic society is static and not dynamic, that Islam stands for conservatism and not progress, that Islam supports orthodoxy and not rationalism and that a Muslim has no liberty of thought and action.

Islam claims itself as (دين الفطرة) a code of life according to nature. If it is a fact—and certainly it is—, then whatever Islam puts forth must be in consonance with the real and natural requirements of humanity. There must be complete harmony between the natural wishes of humanity, and the teachings of the Quran. The path of salvation of humanity, as laid down by Allah, cannot but be on the same lines as righteously

and ordinarily human beings would like to follow. In other words, the Will of Allah must be compatible with and agreeable to the General Will of the Muslims. The Will of Allah is not superimposed. Allah is all Goodness. Whatever, therefore, emanates from Allah must be good for the whole of humanity. And if the Muslim community righteously thinks and works for the whole of humanity, the will of such a community must also be good. The ideal and goal being the same both before Allah and the Ummat, the two wills must on no account run counter to each other. The General Will of the Ummat, if it is for the general good, must think in the same terms as Allah has already ordained. If the general will is in right direction and for the right cause, then it can never go contrary to the dictates of the Quran. There is, therefore, hardly any difference in the Will of Allah and the General Will of the Ummat as conceived and interpreted above. But human knowledge is imperfect. Hence the imperative and inevitable necessity of Divine Guidance.

## ANGLO-EGYPTIAN CRISIS. 1951.

The whole of the Middle East has turned to be a very rich reservoir of Petroleum. But the political and economic progress of this tract had so long been hopelessly slow or none at all. Consequently the Middle East lured the eye of many. Earlier, this zone was prized by different world powers as strategic ; today, with it, oil has accentuated the already troubled atmosphere. The boiling cauldron of Middle Eastern oil creates fresh problems every now and then ; who knows that these bubbles won't burst some day. The throes of Israel still haunt living memory and the wrongs done upon a people might not be so easily forgotten and forgiven. Time would give none a respite. A rising storm is in the offing. The Iranians' disaffection towards the Western world is only simmering beneath the oil surface. The injustices of 1911 are being attempted to be made right in Libya but there too, in place of the Italian Fascism, lurks the fear of economic tutelage. (1) The French Protectorates in Algeria, Tunis and Morocco are only resting on the surface of an impatient volcano. The 30 million Berbers are tired with the land of equality and fraternity, *i.e.*, France. The Eritreans' fate has become the plaything of the U. K. U. S., and the Ethiopians. The Italian Somaliland was not thought fit to achieve independence before ten years. In this atmosphere of naked land grabbing and subtle domination, a major crisis on Egypt and the allied problems hinges on the Allied powers' Middle Eastern defence plan as a big crevice wholly dangerous for the 'democratic world.

The crisis opens with the difference of contracting powers of Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936. " When British diplomacy, with its native love of compromise, wishes to retain the substance of control while conceding the shadow of independence, it is apt to resort to the method of a treaty. This was the solution adopted not only in Iraq, but also in attempting to settle the Irish question. The difficulty is to find a formula reconciling the requirements of the one party and the national susceptibilities of the other. " (2) Orabi movement might have furnished a pretext for British intervention in Egypt to restore peace and order. But this self-imposed mission did not end even after the war of 1914-18. The Egyptians thought some noble gesture from the British Government, would be forthcoming as a reward of their total help to Britain in War and repudiation of Turkish sovereignty but instead, came the naked grip of protectorate. The easy going Egyptians, so long amiable and well meaning, were roused to consciousness in the face of a national danger and tried to undo the

protectorate. " But in 1919 and the succeeding years they had acquired experience which gave them a sternness of purpose, a unity, a concentration and a mercilessness which were not created by Zaghlul and marshalled by his organization but of which he was the mouthpiece and the instrument and, in the face of the enemy, the leader. " (3).

Lord Llyod says on the occasion " on the one side stood the British control armed with sufficient power and backed by sufficient force to enable it to carry on the Government of Egypt should it so decide. On the other side stood the party of Independence which had profited by years of pre-occupied in-attention....." On the failure of the Milnor mission, Britain formally declared the independence of Egypt on certain qualifications. This had failed to meet the acceptance of the Egyptian nationalist politicians. After a period of long drawn-out shop-keeper's higgling, when Italian aggression in Ethiopia created a danger zone, the United voice of the Egyptian politicians was appeased by the treaty of 1936. Britain recognised with much reluctance her own profession about the Independence of Egypt that she made in 1922. The independence was bound by the Four main hurdles such as (1) Britain's right to maintain a garrison of 10,000 troops and 400 aircrafts in the Suez Canal, (2) the right to use Alexandria and Port Sai'd as naval bases, (3) the right of using Egyptian soil in times of war or threats of war, (4) joint administration of the Sudan with a view to concede progressively the greatest amount of self-determination to the Sudanese. It was also agreed that after 20 years this treaty should be replaced by another under the auspices of the League of Nations. However, amendments could be made after ten years by mutual negotiations.

In world War II, the Egyptians contributed their might to the cause of allied victory. But for their calm and quiet endeavour to allied cause in the face of strong Axis provocations, the war in the middle east would have turned otherwise. With the conclusion of war, the Egyptians led by the wafdists, proceeded with their unredeemed national interests still at stake under the 1936 treaty. In 1946 Sidky-Bevin consultation opened and negotiations dragged on indefinitely to the disillusionment of the Egyptians, and subsequently *much commotion* was created which disturbed the internal situation in Egypt as a result of which Nokrashy Pasha the then Premier and the leader of the Muslim brotherhood, Hasan Banna, were killed by assassins. As the negotiation fell through on the persistent high-handed attitude of the British politicians, Mr. Bevin made

it clear that now British proposals being rejected by Egypt, His Majesty's Government stood by the 1936 treaty. (4) On July 11, 1947 the Egyptian Government submitted a note to the Security Council asking them to direct under article 35 and 37 of U. N. Charter (1) The total and immediate evacuation of all British troops from Egypt including the Sudan (2) Termination of the present administrative regime in the Sudan. "

It stated that British troops were " maintained in Egyptian territories against the unanimous will of the people " and this act in peace time constituted " an offence to its dignity, a hindrance to its normal developement as well as the infringement of the fundamental principles of sovereign equality and of the U. N. Charter. " It mentioned the " unwarranted occupation of Egypt in 1882 " by Britain [and " forcing upon Egypt their partner-ship in the administration of the Sudan " and " instigating and encouraging artificial seperatist movement "3. (5) On August 13, 1947 the Security Council continued the hearing of the Egyptian case without coming to any decision and it was postponed for the next month. But it was left in the cold storage of the U. N. archives.

The Egyptians were very much concerned with the sad fate of the Palestine Arabs. They knew full well the stand taken by the powers specially Britain ; but for their active connivance and patronage the birth of Israel would have been a far cry. The pitiable fate of the Arab refugees cut to the quick the lacerated feeling of the Egyptians. The Arab world and its inmates, from the Pasha down to the man on the street, could not but resent bitterly this high handed piece of injustice forcibly perpetrated on the Arab soil by the big policy makers for ulterior designs. That a serious reaction would set in motion a major upheaval is but too natural. From the dock worker in the Suez Canal to the high ranking Government officials and ministers and also the King gradually assumed a grim determination to do or die.

The crisis opened with the painstaking search conducted by Egyptian Customs Officials of all ships passing through the Suez Canal to detect contrabands bound for Haifa, as a state of emergency did not as yet cease to operate in Egypt. On occasions, it proved much vexatious for the shipowners and too ruinous for the economy of Israel, as the 'Pipe line from Iraq now ceased to operate, this practically led to a deadlock in the Haifa refinery.

While the Anglo-Iranian oil dispute over the control of the industry had reached the most critical phase and British military intervention in the Abbadan refinery was expected too imminent, the Egyptians placed their two most outstanding disputes for discussion in the Parliament. The abrogation of the 1936 treaty despite loud British protests, was carried through unanimously in the parliament and got assent of the crown in no time. Nahas stood as the patriot as he stood on so many previous occasions but never with such a complete satisfaction of all sections and parties and last of all the throne. The whole country was fretting with spite and hatred for the Britishers. The country-wide demonstrations and organised non-co-operation and boycotting of all that was British manifested the grim determination of the nation. The London papers described this sudden move by the Egyptian Government as prompted by events in Persia which contention the Egyptian minister for Interior, Seraj-Din Pasha in a statement categorically denied. He asserted that the last November's speech of the king from the throne had anticipated such a step before anything had happened in Persia. (6)

As regards the justifiability of the Egyptian movement we may quote the statement made by Charles Malik, Lebanese minister in Washington, while addressing the Syrian and Lebanese clubs at Albama: "Egypt desires that the principle of sovereign equality consecrated in the U. N. Charter be as much applicable to her as to any other nation. This is absolutely just. She wants to play as original, as effective and as independent a role in the defence and development of the Near-East as her position and resources entitle her to do." (7)

On October 13, 1951 the U. S. A., Britain, France and Turkey invited Egypt to join the Middle East Defence Organisation. The proposal stressed the need for protection of the Suez Canal Zone subject to the decision of the proposed Middle East command when formed. (8)

Simultaneously a note from Britain described the Sudan problem as a "purely British affair." (9)

In the heat of discussion that followed in the Egyptian political circles, the four power note for the Middle Eastern Command was simply rejected by the Egyptian Cabinet.

The crisis ripened when the British Government expressed its determination to go ahead with the security measures in the Canal Zone and



also the Sudan by heavy concentration of forces. The unilateral cancellation of the Anglo-Egyptian treaty of 1936 was simply ignored by the British Government. The Egyptians are now up for the defence of their Fatherland from external threat and pacific resistance against and non-co-operation with the British forces of occupation.

"The British troops have taken over Suez Railway station and Railway shops. Steel helmeted Egyptian police threw tear gas bombs on a great crowd of students and workers trying to force their way through the centre of Cairo towards the District where the British and American embassies are situated." (October 23, 1951—Reuter).

On the same date the Sudanese constitutional commission redrafted a cable to the U. N. asking for an international Commission to govern the Sudan until its future is decided. (10)

These moves and countermoves on both the Anglo-Egyptian sides might at any moment lead to a general conflagration in the Middle East. In 1920 the Egyptian affairs were concern of the Egyptians and Britain but in 1951 they have turned into matters of world diplomacy.

There is no denying the fact that a political vacuum exists in the Middle East and can be filled up by Russia in no time. To start strong Middle East command is a necessity but that one without Egypt is a day dream. If Middle Eastern Security is the common problem, then Britain should not have persisted in weakening Egyptian position in the Sudan. The unity of the Nile valley is decidedly to the best advantage of a rising Egypt, to play an active part in the Middle Eastern Defence. To deny her right over the Sudan and ask her to save the Middle East is preposterous.

As regards the justifiability of Egyptian stand over the Sudan, there might be a great prejudice in many minds. Britain apparently pleads for the self-determination of the Sudanese while, it seems, as if, Egypt wants to grab the Sudan and deny her independence. But actually the situation is quite the opposite. Britain is apprehensive of the nationalism in Egypt and she was not satisfied with creating a storm centre in Israel. She wants a weak link at the back of Egypt which might be pulled at any emergency. Britain's fifty years stand in the Middle East clearly proves her unbecoming design in weakening the rising Arab World by parcelling it into a conglomeration of petty *Sheikhdoms*, turning them

into a ring of protectorates to remain eternally in a medieval state of backwardness and playing them the empire's lackey whenever and wherever occasion demanded. An independent Sudan without Egyptian help is too weak while Egypt without Sudan is truncated. With the nominal crown of Egypt and the full fledged co-operation of the Egyptians the Sudan can shake of her political and economic serfdom in no time. King Faruq, in a speech from the throne on November 14, 1946 emphasized the fact "that Egypt regarded the Sudan as a brother state, and one of Egypt's first aims would be to develop their interests and prepare them for self-government as soon as possible." (11)

The Sudan is a cotton belt producing long staple cotton. If Egyptian cotton market is closed for Britain the Sudan could be expected to supply her need. In the middle of Africa there runs a Muslim inhabited zone whose liberation might be taken in hand if the Sudan as a part of the Egyptian Common-Wealth touches those regions. The Sudan with eight million people (two third Arab, one third African, almost all Muslim) forebodes a future. In 1821 the Fung dynasty fell before Muhammad Ali, the founder of the present dynasty of Egyptian Kings and the whole of Egypt and the Sudan were united under one Crown. With the Qadiri movement in 1882, purely anti-Turkish and the undesirable and illegal British intervention Egypt fell; the Sudan under the Mahdi accumulated power to resist possible foreign intervention. But Gordon's despicable failure and consequent loss of life puzzled the British interventionists for some 12 years. Lord Kitchener re-occupied the Sudan with Egyptian help in 1898 and the Anglo-Egyptian condominium was declared in 1899 and later confirmed by the treaty of 1936. As a matter of right the Egyptian sovereign appoints the Governor-General of the Sudan on the recommendation of the British Government. The domination of Britain in Sudan affairs was always resented by the Egyptians and they were pressing for the termination of British control there. In support of Egyptian claim these grounds were put forward (12): (i) Historically Egypt and the Sudan form one entity, and not two, (ii) Geography has made these two units not only contiguous but one. Demographic, religious and culture made the two peoples the same. (iii) Economically these two Units is so much inter-related and inter-twined that severance would only injure both to an irreparable extent. Now as Egypt has abrogated the two treaties, legally the Sudan goes back to Egyptian Sovereignty (kept in suspension only for the intervening period), as a

matter of inalienable right as it had been before 1882 unless decided otherwise by His Majesty's Egyptian Government.

As it stands Britain loses her legal right on the Sudan. She might be retaining occupation by force of arms but it is out and out a case of aggression on her part. The Security Council failed in the past to give these problems a solution but this neglect might cause an irreparable breach in future for the order and tranquillity of the whole Middle East. It is a matter between the Egyptians and the Sudanese, and Britain's role as a third party even ceases with the annulment of the said treaties. If there be any need for any neutral party, it is not Britain but the U. N. to work as an Umpire. These countries are tired of these self-imposed trustees. They deserve a simple "get out" or "Quit" bid. Today Sudan is a developing country; in the north political agitation is intense for Sudanese independence and unity with the Arab League. The two main political parties are the Ashigga and the Umma led by Ismail-El-Ashari and Abdur Rahman-El-Mahdi respectively. The former is supporter of the Unity of the Nile valley and the latter for self-determination but not after independence from British control. That Sudanese are ripe for independence is no denying. But whether they should be made to submit under the Egyptian crown in a commonwealth or allowed let alone is to be decided by the adults of the Sudan. There The British have got no say.

As for the canal question, Egypt's demand is wholly correct. Article 11 of 1936 treaty says "In view of the fact that the Suez canal, while being an integral part of Egypt, is a universal means of communication, as also an essential means of communication between the different parts of the British Empire, His Majesty the King of Egypt until such time as the contracting parties agree that the Egyptian Army is in a position by its own resources to ensure security of the navigation of the canal, authorises His Majesty the King and Emperor to station forces in the Egyptian territory in the vicinity of the canal. .... The presence of these forces shall not constitute in any manner an occupation and will no way prejudice the sovereign rights of Egypt."

But after the termination of this treaty with Egypt's reluctance to be a party to it and Britain's insistence to fulfil the agreement naturally infringes the sovereign rights of Egypt. Egypt is a sovereign state and the canal is an integral part of it. So long Egypt felt the necessity of association with Britain and the stationing of troops had been justified. But

now after abrogation of the said treaty Britain has got no *locus standi*. As for example, the Straits of Dardanelles, Marmora and Bosphorus have become part and parcel of Turkey by the Montreux convention of 1936 inspite of their being no less international; Turkey conducts passage in peace or war under certain restrictions. If similar obligation is entrusted to Egypt by the Nations, Britain's occupation there becomes superfluous and prejudicial. Egypt can consider a convention like that of the Montreux only after the canal zone is completely evacuated. To put pressure on Egypt to join the middle Eastern Command while the canal is under foreign occupation is like putting cart before the horse. According to the pronouncement of the Egyptian Cabinet in last October Egyptian sovereignty is more important to her than the security of the Middle East.

Egypt might not be fully capable to counter British military might but her people are now too conscious to forget the wrong done to her. A single Egyptian life lost in a British shot is sufficient to undo clause 8 of the 1936 treaty. "The presence of these forces shall not constitute in any manner an occupation and in no way prejudice the sovereignty right of Egypt." Egyptian civilian life is at stake before the British bayonet; civil administration is being disturbed by British soldiers. Are these not "sufficient to constitute a breach of the 1936 Treaty on which Britain still stands? As a reprisal, if British interest is encroached upon by the Egyptian mob despite stringent policy measures, who knows that a so-called Police action would not be taken by Britain. Hostility of 20 million Arabs plus the whole Arab World means the boon for Russia. Neither Turkey nor Israel is sufficient to be counted for middle-eastern security in the face of a sweeping popular antipathy in the Arab world. Here the prestige of Britain is at the lowest ebb.

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## ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION IN EUROPE

### Its spread and influence

#### Preamble

Europe had already attracted the attention of the Arabs who repeatedly (650, 659, 672-7 A. D.) hammered at the gates of Constantinople, but in vain. Baffled in the East, they diverted their attention to the West. In 711-2 A. C. the Visigothic kingdom of Spain fell before the onslaught of Tāriq. Most of his followers being Moors or Berbers or North Africa, the wonderful Islamic civilization that developed in Western Europe is called the Moorish civilization.

Shortly afterwards the Moors crossed over the Pyrenees in 718 or 719 A. C. and before 733 A. C. half of France was under their heels. In 827-873 A. D., they captured Sicily and Magna Grecia of Southern part of Italy and repeatedly invaded Rome and northern Italy. Pope John VIII paid them regular tribute for 2 years. A band of free-booters entered Switzerland and for 75 years held the passes of the Alps. But by 759 C. E. they were driven out of France and by 1492 C. E. from Spain. About the middle of the eleventh century, they were expelled from southern Italy by the Normans who also seized Sicily between 1060 and 1090 A. D.

#### Importance

Thus ended the Muslim domination in Western Europe. But the extraordinary impetus given by the Moorish kingdoms of southern Europe to scientific enquiry, historical research, spread of commerce, perfection of industry and social and economic development of every thing connected with daily happiness and comfort of mankind, did not end with the destruction of their rule.

In the tenth century when the darkest age prevailed in Europe, when even necessary learning was banished from every part of it, even from Constantinople from the time of Leo the Isaurian (719 A. D.), it received a cordial welcome only in Spain. "Arts, Literature and Science prospered, as they then prospered nowhere else in Europe (Lane-Poole, *Moors in Spain*)". As a matter of fact, Muslims left the European nations far behind in this respect. It was the introduction of Arabian manners that led to the resurgence of human reason in general in Europe. But for the explicit influence on European languages, literature and sciences, the conquest and



centuries", says Gibbon, "not a single discovery was made to exalt the dignity or increase the happiness of mankind (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Volume VI)." While Christian Europe thus slowly sank in a state of increasing ineptitude (Singer) Moslem Spain and Sicily, which had absorbed the relics of Greek culture, produced a wealth of literature which reached its zenith from the ninth to the end of the twelfth century. The Latin translation of the Aphorisms of Hippocrates that was taught at Chartres in 991 A. D. was most likely obtained from the Arabs.

### Christian Scholar of Moorish Universities

"From the barbarism of the native people of Europe who could scarcely be said to have emerged from the savage state, living in wooden hovels and trodding upon dirty straws, miserably fed on beans, vetches, even the bark of trees—it is pleasant," says Draper, "To turn to the South-West corner of the continent (*Intellectual Development in Europe*, Vol. II)" where the Moors had developed a brilliant, but transient civilization. While in Christian Europe the life of the Princes depended on the doubtful treatment of the quacks and rites of the clergy, even Lady doctors were not unknown in Cordova. "Mathematics, Astronomy and Botany, History, Philosophy and Jurisprudence were to be mastered in Spain, and Spain alone" (Lane-Poole). The princes of France and Castile for many generations obtained their training in Iberia. "Students flocked from France, Germany and England" and every other part of Europe "to drink from the fountain of learning which flowed only in the cities of the Moors" (Lane-Poole). "It was from her" says Dr. Arnold "that Christian Scholars received what of Greek Philosophy and Science they had to stimulate their mental activity upto the time of the Renaissance" (*Preaching of Islam*). Gradually these scholars assumed a leading part in the intellectual sphere of Europe and acquainted the Europeans with unprecedented learning and culture of the Moslems of Spain.

"The Christian West was in fact ripe for the germination and vigorous growth of Arabic culture which appeared as a constellation in the South of Spain. The rays of intellectual light came to Europe at an opportune moment in its declension and despite the prevailing bigotry in Christendom, the culture of the Cordovan Caliphate gradually overcame many objections, and obstructions and its intellectual heritage became that of Europe generally" (Dr. Campbell, *Arabian Medicine*, Vol. I).



Being close to Rome the refined and luxurious citizens of Sicily exerted similar influence on the ferocious Berbers who had inherited the cruel and shameless sins of the Caesars. Though less distinguished and shortlived, it was most beneficial and civilizing.

### Mozarabs

When the Arabs mastered the learning of the Greeks and after developing it in every respect opened its gates to Europe, Spain was naturally the first to receive and spread it. Spanish Christians were their first and principal disciples. The educated Mozarabs (would-be Arabs or Arabicized Christians) were acquainted with Latin as well as Arabic. But the vast majority of the people were illiterate. Writing in Latin alphabet is cumbersome compared to Arabic; Latin literature was also not then very attractive and writing books in Arabic was less costly than in Latin. So the few Mozarabs who knew how to read and write preferred the former to the latter. They devoted themselves so much to learning Arabic and Arab manners that they forgot their own laws and language. "By the tenth century the whole basis of life throughout Spain was profusely influenced by Islam; with the capture of Toledo (1085) that influence spread to the rest of Europe (Arnold and Guilleme; *Legacy of Islam*)." "From the Pyrenees had passed forth an influence which had infected all the learned men of Europe" (Draper: *Intellectual Development in Europe*, Vol. II).

Many Latin works contain marginal notes in Arabic. Alvaro, Bishop of Cordova, chided the Mozarabs for their preference of Arabic poetry and fables to the religious instructions of the Holy Fathers. In 1049 C.E. the canons of the Spanish Council had to be translated into Arabic for the Bishops and the clergy, so forgetful had they become of their own language (Joseph Hell, *Arab Civilization*). In the twelfth century the John of Seville translated the Quran itself for the convenience of the Mozarabs.

Aiton Bishop of Vitch, Lufit of Barcelona and Joseph, the teacher of the Archbishop of Rheims were the principal scholars of this period. They were all well-versed in Mathematics and Astronomy.

### Mozarab Migration

The tenth century was the age of the 'Mulūkūt-tawāif' or petty Kingdoms in Spain. Though the court of Seville was not less brilliant than it was a century ago, the Muslim Kingdoms now became a prey to Christian invasions. At the fall of the Caliphate the Christians inherited at

least a part of its culture. The cultural influence of the Muslims increased in proportion to the diminution of their political power. The Mozarab migration under the Almoravides and Almohades, particularly between 1090 and 1146 C.E. led to the spread of Arab civilization. Almost simultaneously with the manifestation of this religious intolerance for the first time in the history of Muslim Spain the monks of Cluny were also seized with the same spirit. After the death of rebellious Cid when Ximena was forced to leave Valencia the Mozarabs finding it impossible to live there left for Castile by hundreds. Similar migrations followed from several other places.

The Mozarabs carried with them several styles of Architecture, method of dress-making, a few Muslim customs and proverbs like *quen dens sohet, eni sit bita requics, qui dios mantenga, etc.*

### Christian occupation

The practical legacy of Spanish Muslim culture, however, was spread throughout the country by the Christian conquerors and the Jews in the first half of the thirteenth century. The reconquest brought many Muslim artisans under Christian domination. The capture of Toledo (1085) opened the door of Arab learning to entire Europe. It spread rapidly with the fall of Cordova (1236), Valencia (1238) and Seville (1248).

The wars with the Christians of the North gradually drove the Muslims to the further south. Finally, their empire was limited to the kingdom of Granada. But this did not interfere with the intellectual contact between the two great antagonistic creeds of the world. Every fresh conquest of Muslim cultural centre brought fresh books into Christian hands and these were not allowed to remain untouched in the almshouses. The kings of Castile used to give special encouragement to the study of Arabic works. Alphonso VI, was a Christian only in name. He was so much imbued with the superior culture of Islam that he declared himself to be "the king of two religions" Alphonso V. (1252-84) played the role of the greatest patron for the spread of Muslim learning in Christian Spain. Under his personal supervision voluminous collections like the *Lapidary Lebro de los Juegos* and *cantigas de sonta* were compiled. Much of the materials of these works were borrowed from Arabic works obtained through the Jews.

### Wandering Scholars.

Before the court translators the noble task of the spread of Arabism in Europe was undertaken by the wandering scholars. It were the ecclesiastics who derived the greatest benefit from Arab learning and sciences.

Though highly antagonistic in religion and tradition, they were the main bearers of Moorish civilization to the nations of Northern Europe. Strange as it may appear, they had the monopoly of education in Christendom in the middle ages. So sooner or later those with genius amongst them could not but be dissatisfied with the ignorance and unreasonableness of the Popes. No wonder therefore, that they would be attracted towards the higher science and would become its torch-bearers.

The geographical position of Spain was particularly favourable for the spread of Arabian culture in the West. "The Spanish Universities were filled with ecclesiastics from many parts of Europe" (Draper). Some of them belonged to the monastic orders. Both Bruno and Savonarola were Dominicans.

### Lorrainese and Lutherangians

In the tenth century Arabian Sciences penetrated into Lorraine and Lutherangin in consequence of which this region became a centre of scientific activity for the next two centuries. Among other cities of Lutherangia Lieze of Gorge and Cologne were the most fertile fields for the germination of Arabian learning. From Lorraine it radiated into other parts of Germany and was transported into England by men born or educated in Lorraine, Alfred, who translated a part of the *De Plentis* of Aristotle from the Arabic work of Nicholai of Damascus was an Englishman. The original in Greek is no longer available. His *De Vegatabilicus* was probably a translation of the work of Ishāq Ibn Hunayn.

### German Emperors

By the middle of the tenth century the cultural influence of Islam was clearly visible in the lands to the north of the Alps. Embassies were often exchanged between the German Kings of the North and Muslim Monarchs of Spain. Its influence on the intellectual sphere was considerable. As early as 953 A. D. Otto the Great deputed John, a monk of Lutherangia, as his envoy to Cordova. He spent 3 years there in learning Arabic and "brought back with him scientific manuscripts. Thus did Spanish Arabic learning permeate all Western Europe" (Hitti, *History of the Arabs*). After this there seems to have been a lull for a few decades and it was not before the appearance of Gerbet that "the Western caliphate began fundamentally to influence the whole educational system of Europe" (Campbell).

### Early Italian Preachers

The earliest Eastern influence is traced in the work of Donnolo (1913-70) "a Jew of Otranto. He practised in southern Italy and studied the works of the Greeks and Arabs. In his book on Astrology (946) and in *Anttdo Orius* (Materia Medica) he unquestionably drew on Arabic sources.....In addition to his Eastern travels, Donnolo travelled in the Italian Peninsula and thereby in all probability spread a knowledge of Arabic science" (Campbell).

The next evidence of Arabic influence in Latin Europe is a Latin document on astrology written by Alcandrius (Alexander) in 930. There is evidence to show that it passed through Jewish hands.

### Gerbert

None of the early medieval European scholars obtained so great a celebrity as the famous Gerbert. The school of France, Germany and Italy having failed to quench the thirst for knowledge of this Aquitanian youngman of unknown parentage he came to Spain and visited its principal cities. It was the tenth century when the Umayyad Caliphate in the West was at the height of its power and prosperity. Disgusted with prejudices, barbarism, intolerance and intellectual degradation of Europe he at once became captivated by the superior culture of the Unique City of the then known world. Enrolling himself as a student of the Universities of Cordova and Seville he became proficient in Astronomy, Mathematics and Physics. On his return from Andalusia he established schools in France and Germany. He could speak Arabic as fluently as a Saracen and with the help of a globe brought from Cordova taught astronomy and geography to thousands of students who flocked to him.

There can be no doubt that Gerbert obtained all his knowledge from the Arabs. According to William of Molmesbury it "was stolen from the Saracens". He encouraged the use of Arabic numerals which gradually replace the ugly Roman system in Europe. He suggested a translation of an Arabic work on Astrolabe and his mathematical work seems to be an outgrowth of his studies in Arabized Spain. Though in the eyes of every educated European Cordova was a sacred place, those who used to master Saracenic learning, were regarded by the common people as "Servants of Satan". The extraordinary knowledge of Gerbert led them believe that he had surrendered himself to the Devil and had entered

into a contract with him. Hence they regarded him as a great sorcerer. His main centre of activity was Buhboi in Italy. Appointed at first Bishop of Rheims, then of Ravenna he ascended the pulpit of the Holy Pope as Sylvester II (999). Some of his remarks and actions show how deeply he was influenced by the teaching and contact of the Arabs. "None at Rome" he used to say, "is literate enough to be a gate-keeper." He shuddered at the abominable sins, murders and bribery of the popes and exclaimed, "Are these sinful, ignorant giants fit to be revered by the people as the Vicar of God"? Moving in the polygamous society of Cordova he did not forbid marriage or even bygamy of the clergy who were required to lead a celibate life, nor did he prevent them from taking meat. Leo, the papal legate, protested against the remarks of Gerbert. "Peter" said he, "is no doubt a gate-keeper, but of heaven." He did not deny the corruption of the popes, but supported it saying that even Jesus had accepted presents from the wisemen. Instead of denouncing the crimes of the Popes he objected to their publicity and asked all to remember that Ham was cursed for exposing the nakedness of his father. However wrong these arguments may be, they mark the beginning of the victory of Muslem sciences and morality in their long fight against the ignorance and corruption of Italy.

From the actions of the new Pope it seemed as if the reformation would dawn centuries before the birth of Luther. But the Romans were not prepared to sacrifice their interests so readily. They rebelled and the Emperor Otto III who was at the root of Gerbert's rise to the papal see had to take up arms to uphold the election. Though successful against open enemies, he could not save himself from the secret foes. To avenge her husband's death Stephania did not hesitate to sacrifice even her chastity at the altar of the lust of the Emperor with a view to remove him by poison. He was soon followed to the grave by his faithful nominee who succumbed to slow poison (1003 A. D.). Thus unhappily ended the first attempt to introduce Arab learning into Europe two hundred years before the appointed time.

#### Post-Gerbert Scholars :

After Gerbert appears Herman the cripple (1013-54) of Richenan in Switzerland. His "works on Mathematics and Astrology.....display distinct evidence of Arabic influence" and he seems to have obtained the materials from wandering scholars like Donnolo and Alcantarius,

The process of Arabic infiltration is also seen in *Liber Lapidum* of Marmod of Anjou (1123) and in a poem named *Macer Floridus*, attributed to Odo of Meune (D 1161).

### Literary Pilgrims after Gerbert

After half a century after the murder of Gerbert we again come across strong evidence of frequent literary pilgrimages to Spain. In the middle of the eleventh century Adlard's friend and protector Peter the Venerable passed many years at Cordova. On his arrival there he found several educated Englishmen studying Astronomy. Of such literary pilgrims of the twelfth century Robert of Reading, Daniel Morley and William Shelly are very well-known. Amongst other Otto of Frising deserve particular mention. All of them carried the elementary knowledge of Mathematics, Physics, Astronomy, etc., to their motherland and spread it there.

Just as the Arabs became acquainted with Greek sciences by means of systematic translation, by the same process Medieval Europe also now acquired the sciences of the Arabs. Arab learning came to a pause at the beginning of the twelfth century when it began to be circulated in Europe through Latin translations. Canstantino Africanus, a renegade Muslim, studied the Medical sciences of the Arabs for 30 years in the schools of Egypt, Bagdad and Babylon and conveyed his precious store to Salerno in Southern Italy. During his stay at the monastery of Monte Casino (1070-87 C. E.) he translated many Arabic works into Latin. Full of mistakes though they are, the credit of sowing the rare seeds of Greek knowledge on the unfertile soil of Europe for the first time goes to him. It is through him that the West became acquainted with the works of the Arabs, in consequence of which Medicine and Philosophy gained a new impetus. His works were regarded as authoritative and used in Europe long after the death of Gerard of Cremona (1187) and his influence was noticeable in the writings of Richardus and Gibbertus Anglicer and several other physicians of the early thirteenth century. Another student of Arab medical school was Patras Alphanso, a converted Spanish Jew and God-son of Alphanso VII (born 1062). Appointed as the physician of Henry I, he went to England and was the first to disseminate Muslim culture there. In collaboration with Walcher, the Principal abbot of Melbourne, he translated the astronomical work of Alphanso the Wise which was based on Arabic sources and also a few books on Mathematics. They soon found lots of scholars to follow their noble example.

## Mosque-Library of Toledo

After the destruction of Cordova by the Berbers, Toledo became the greatest centre of Islamic culture in the West. Its capture by Christians brought the western scholars into more intimate contact with Arabian learning. The mosque library of Toledo which fell into their hands became a constant resort of scholars. Latin students who came to visit the place marvelled at the relics of the Arab civilisation and devoted themselves to the study of Arabian arts. Their principal teachers were the native Jews and Mozarabs.

## College of Translators at Toledo

To quench the thirst philosophical knowledge of the West Archbishop Raymond established a translators' college at Toledo in 1130 C. E. at the direction of Archdeacon Domenica Gundisalvas (Gonzales) with the example of Baitul-Hikmah of Begdad before him. Being a Frenchman, his translating movement became the source of all medical and scientific knowledge of the Europeans in the Middle Ages. Translation into Latin of all ancient works which the Muslims had rendered into Arabic lying before, continued at Toledo for upwards a century.

The Jews knew Hebrew, Arabic and Spanish and sometimes spoke in Latin. Hence they were the principal translators. Successive translators appeared at Toledo from 1135-1284 A. D. With the assistance of Johanes Ben David, Avendeath (Ibn-Daud) translated all the older philosophical works of the Arabs. He was also responsible for translating several astronomical, astrological and mathematical books from Arabic.

Scholars from every country of Europe used to come to Toledo. From the British Isles came Michael Scott the Magician, Robert of Chester (Robert De Retines or Robert Auglicus) and Adelard of Bath. Their tricks and adventures to obtain a copy of the Latin translation of Aristotle find a vivid description in "The Legacy of Isarel."

Adelard visited Tarsus, Antioch, Egypt, Sicily and Spain and mastered the astronomical and mathematical works of the Arabs, about 1100 A. D. when he is known to have been at Toledo. After his return to England in 1126 C. E. he published a Latin translation of the astronomical Tables of Almajrit which was based on Khawarizmi and contained a reference to sine. In 1130 C. E. he rendered Euclid into Latin from Arabic. He also compiled a summum of Arabian sciences and translated

a few of their works relating to Mathematics and Astronomy, thereby heading the long list of the Arabists

Avendeath (John of Seville or *Johanes Hispalensis*) was a renegade Jew. Under Raymond he translated between 1135 and 1153 C E the mathematical, astronomical, astrological, medical and philosophical works respectively of Al-Fargani, Abu Nasar Al-kindi, Ben Gabirel and Al-Gazali. Of these the astronomical treatise of Al Fargani was the most important. Translated from the work of Jahja Ibn-Batrik under the denomination of *Secretum Secretorum Philosophorum* it was soon re-translated in most European vernaculars. Used in compiling chap books this treatise on Alchemy, Physiognomy and popular Medicine "exercised great influence on Roger Bacon". The credit, however, does not seem to belong solely to John. There are reasons to think that he used to translate Arabic works into his native Castilian from which they were again rendered into Latin by a companion of his.

In 1141-3 Robert de Retines assisted by Herman of Dalmatia completed the first Latin translation of the Quran for Peter the Venerable. He also translated the Algebra of Khwarizmi into Latin in 1145 C E.

This great translating movement drew its main inspiration and encouragement from Frederick Barbarossa of Germany and Frederick II of Sicily both of whom had Arabian leanings and tendencies. Several translators were in receipt of help from Barbarossa who in 1170 A D sent Gerard of Cremona to Toledo for translating the Canon of Avicenna. A translator of rare activity he rendered into Latin for the most part between 1170 and 1187 C E. some seventy Arabic works including Ptolemy, Galen, Rhazes (Ar-Razi) and Albucasis. He could not probably complete the translation of the *Canon* which was continued by Gerard of Sabbionetta in the early twelfth century at the order of Frederick II.

Amongst others who worked strenuously to pass on the Arabic heritage to Latin Europe are Marcus of Toledo (1200) and Domenico Gonzales. The former translated some works of Galen, Hippocrates and Johannitus, while the latter of Aristotle and Avicenna.

Michael Scott (1170-1236) was one of the founders of Latin Averroism. Before his appointment as astrologer to Frederick II, he had studied in Spain. He went to Toledo in 1217 A D and translated the astronomical work (*Al-Hujah*) of Al-Bitruji, Aristotle's *De Caelo et*



*Mundu* with annotations of Ibn Rushd and several other books. Like the two Gerards he too carried his knowledge to Europe.

Herman the German visited Toledo between 1240-50. He was a teacher of Roger Bacon. He translated a few works of al-Farabi and Aristotle, while Arnold of Villanova translated the important writings of Ibn Sina, Al-Kindi and Ibn-Zuhr.

Among other translators Canon Mark, a contemporary of Gerard, Ruphin of Alexandria in Italy, Campano of Novaba, Plato of Trivoli Simon of Jenoa, Jew Abraham of Tortosa, astrologer of Frederick II and Berenger of Valencia deserve special mention.

Before the thirteenth century was over Arabian Philosophy and sciences were thus transmitted to Europe through systematic translations and the work of Spain as an intermediary came to an end. "The intellectual avenue leading from the Portals of Toledo through the Pyrennes wound its way through Provence and the Alpine Passes into Lorraine, Germany and Central Europe as well as across the channel into England" (Hitti, *History of the Arabs*).

### Centres in France

There were also several centres in southern France for the dissemination of Arabian culture. On the basis of the astronomical *Tables* of Toledo, Raymond prepared his tables at Marseilles in 1240 A. D. Herman of Dalmatia completed his translation of the *Planisphaerium* of Ptolemy as edited by Almajriti at Toulouse in 1143 A. D. Abraham-ben-Ejra, commentator of the Bible (D. 1267) translated the commentary of Khwarizmi by Al-Beruni at Narbounne. He also translated two works on Astrology by his co-religionist Ma'sha Allah of the East (d.815). Montpellier was the principal centre in France in the fourteenth century for the study of Medicine and Astronomy which were, needless to say, mainly based on Arabian sources.

Several Spanish monks lived in the famous monastery of Cluny in eastern France. It was an important centre in the twelfth century for the diffusion of Arabian learning. Peter the Hermit, was the abbot of this monastery. He went to Toledo in 1142 C. E. It was for him that the Qurān was first translated into Latin so as to enable him to ascertain its weak points for carrying on propaganda against Islam. He was also liable for the publication of several anti-Islamic treatises.

## The Crusades

The *Crusades* were also partly responsible for creating interest in Arabic and other Islamic languages among the missionaries. Prior to this none knew Arabic outside the countries of Islam. Military campaigns in the East made Christian scholars sensible to the necessity of learning Arabic. Due to the failure of the *Crusades* intelligent men like Raymond Lull of Catalonia (1235-1315) came to believe that it was impossible to subdue the Muslims by sheer brute force, that Islam was to be conquered by a peaceful crusade by persuading the Muslims to change their religion for Christianity. For this purpose it was necessary to cultivate Eastern learning and to use that as a weapon in this new crusade. With a view to impart training to the missionaries to be sent to the Muslims and Jews a school was established at Toledo for the first time in 1250 at the direction of the 'Order of the Preachers' for the study of Eastern lore. Raymond Martin, a contemporary of St. Thomas was its principal scholar. In 1276 C. E. he founded a monastic college at Miramar. It was probably through his influence that in the Ecclesiastical Council of Vienna in 1311 C. E. a resolution was adopted for the creation of the Chairs of Arabic and Tartar languages in the universities of Paris, Louvere and Salamanca. But the result of these endeavours did not lead so much to the expansion of Eastern studies as to the extension of geographical knowledge.

The contribution of the *Crusades* in spreading Arab civilisation is a matter of controversy. According to Le Clerc, the contact of the Arabs with Southern Italy and the *Crusades* contributed to the spread of Arabian culture generally in Western Europe, whereas Friend attributes this largely to the Umayyad Caliphs of Spain. Hitti, Max Mayor Hop and the contributor to the *Historians' History of the World* also hold the latter view. Stephen of Egypt obtained his education in Salerno and Sicily and in 1127 C. E. translated the important medical treatise of Al-Majūzi. About 1247 an Arabic manuscript of *Sirrul-Asrar* (secret of secrets) came into the hands of Phillip of Tripoli. Rendered by him into Latin this Pseudo-Aristotelian work became the most popular book towards the end of the Middle Ages. The only other important translation during the crusading epoch is the *Liber Regalis* or *Kitabul Muleki*.

### Arabian rumours

But however scanty the direct influence of the *Crusades* may be in spreading Arab learning in Europe, its indirect results are considerable.

The crusaders were undoubtedly influenced by the medical and philosophical doctrines of the Arabians and some of the Eastern views on Astrology were carried to the Latin West in this way and incorporated by the Latin writers in their works. An excellent example of this method of extending Arabian culture are the works of Herman the Cripple. The Arabian rumours that drifted over portions of western Europe were in no small measure the direct result of the information brought home by the returning barons and their followers.

The Arab conquest of Sicily in the ninth century and the Muslim domination of the island until it was overrun by the Normans in the eleventh, would explain the Arabic tradition of this part of Europe, and also the vague Arabian rumours that reached even as far north as Switzerland. The close contact between the Latins and Arabians in Spain in the seventh century onwards, would account for some of the rumours that penetrated into the heart of the European West (Campbell).

A rich literature in legends grew out of these rumours, those relating to Charlemagne being very famous. The story of his incognito visit to Palestine and victorious march through Arabia and his consulting Arabian Physicians were evidently due to his diplomatic connection with the Eastern Caliph and his invasions of Muslim Spain at the instigation of his friend, Al-Harūn.

The doctrine of the four elements which was accepted in the Latin West before its impregnation with Arabian modes of thought evidently reached there through this process. Even the description of heaven and hell as given by Dante might have been obtained in this way.

### Sicily

Sicily stands next to Spain in diffusing Arab culture. It was through this centre that the translations of Greek works received by Al-Mamun from Constantinople are said to have reached Salerno and Latin West. Muslim civilisation spread to France and Italy both from Spain and Sicily. The activity of Donato in this connection in Italy has already been mentioned. It is quite likely that this was not an isolated instance and that he had many followers whose works or names have not survived the political upheavals of that battle-field of all nations.

Shortly after the completion of Norman conquest (1091) Sicily again became an active centre for the dissemination of Arabian civilisation. As

the junction of two different cultures its suitability to serve as the intermediary for the export of ancient and medieval lore was very natural. The Norman kings from Roger I to William II (1167-89) and Manfred as well as Charles I of Anjou [invited learned men to Palermo irrespective of religion and language. Arab poets and geographers adorned its court during the Norman regime as well as in that of Frederick II. Among its inhabitants the Greeks and the Muslims spoke in Arabic, while a section of the scholars knew Latin. This facilitated translation.

Eugene of Palermo was well-versed both in Arabic and Latin. With his assistance *Al-Majast* was first translated directly from Greek about 1160 C. E. It was only through his translation from Arabic that the *Optics* of Ptolemy has been preserved, the original Greek being irretrievably lost. He also translated "*Kalilah wa Damnah*" into Greek.

The Jews of Sicily also actively participated in this important translation work like their brethren in Spain. Of them Farragut of Sirgent and Moses of Palermo are noteworthy. Their work was chiefly confined to the translation of the astronomical and medical productions of the Greeks and Arabs into Latin. In 1279 A. D. Faraz ben Salim, translated the medical encyclopaedia (*Al-Hawi*) of Razi (Rhazes) under the patronage of Charles I of Anjou. It was the first principal work on Medicine translated into Latin. Though several Greek and Arabic treatises were later on translated more accurately at Toledo, the translations made in Sicily being the first, possess special value. Besides Sicily southern Italy was also in the hands of the Normans. Hence they held the advantage of transmitting Arab civilisation to the Italian Peninsula and Central Europe.

### Frederick II

The greatest preacher of Arab civilisation in Europe was, however, Emperor Frederick II (1212-50). "He diffused the learning of the Arabs throughout Europe (E. P. Scott, *Moorish Empire in Europe*, Vol. III). His astrologer and interpreter Theodore of Antioch translated into Latin an Arabic work dealing with hawking. It is the first modern natural history. He also composed a book on Hygiene for the Emperor on the basis of *Sirrur Asrar*. After travelling in Syria and Egypt Leonardo Fibonacci, the first Christian Algebrist, dedicated to the Emperor a book on square numbers.

But the most brilliant luminary in the court of Frederick II, was the famous Michael Scott. He was the first to translate Ibn-Rushd which

greatly influenced the European philosophers. Besides translating several works of Aristotle he also compiled a Latin summary of *De Animalibus* with the commentary of Ibn-Sina and named it *Abbreviatis* (i.e., Abridged Avicenna.) From 1220 to 1236 he set the example of Muslim sciences in Sicily and Italy. His mausoleum in the monastery of Melrose still attracts the admiring attention of every educated passer-by.

### Centres in Northern Italy

Several translators worked also in northern Italy. Burgundio of Pisa translated (1130) ten books of Galen, but Ecarsius of Pistora only one (1200). Bonacosa, a renegade Jew, translated the *Colligest* of Ibn-Rushd at Pandua, while Pararvisius, aided by Jacob, the Jew, translated the *Taysir* of Ibn-Zuhurat Veniece.

### Unknown translators

Besides these, the time and place of many other translators like David Harmonius have not yet been ascertained. A good many translators did not publish their names at all. Most of the translations of Chemical works belong to this category.

### Later translators

The Arabic Sciences and Medicine being thus completely won and spread in Europe the 'Period of Translation' came to a close technically at the death of Farragut in 1285 A. D. But as a matter of fact the translation work continued till the middle of the seventeenth century almost unabated. Andrea Alphago of Baluno in Italy (1520) translated the biographical dictionary of Ibn-Qifti besides a few works of Galen, Abu-Sina, Ibn-Rushd and Johannes Serapion. In 1664 A. D. Piyare Vattier of Orleans published a Latin rendering of the work of 'Abdur Rahman on music and the Pyramids. Many translators flourished even thereafter and the work is still going on without any possibility of ever coming to an end, as new books are being constantly discovered or brought to the notice of the Orientalists from the shelves where they have been lying neglected for centuries.

### Influence in European vocabulary

In the Dark Age there was no direct communication between Latin Europe and Byzantium, the Greek capital. The Greek culture in Italy and Sicily consequently suffered a rapid decline, so much so that in 1360 A. D. Petrarch could not name even 10 persons who knew Greek,

Under the circumstances for want of appropriate Latin synonyms the translators substituted the original Arabic words in Latin characters. The use of Alchemy, alcohol, cipher, elixir and many other words thus came to be introduced into the vocabulary of Europe and are still in use.

### Arabo-Scholastic Revival

The period of translation was followed by the Scholastic period when the Arabian teaching was transmitted first by the mystics and then by the systematisers. The material conveyed to the Latin West through translation caused a re-awakening in the intellectual outlook in the thirteenth century which has rightly been termed, as "the age of Arabo-Scholastic Revival" and "one of the greatest epochs in human history". The impulse to this intellectual activity was derived in the main from the Arabian writers" and Albertus Magnus and Roger Bacon were the eminent types of Arabo-Scholastics of the period who "derived the basis of their learning from Arabian sources (Campbell)".

### The Mystics

The 'Age of the Mystics' produced early thinkings like "Huge of St. Victor (1095-1141) who based his theories on drifting Arabian rumours, Bernard Sylvestris (c. 1156) who drew on Herman the Cripple, and Hildegard who depended on Sylvestris and other writings that showed Arabian influence which the doctrines of macrocosm and microcosm were mystically treated.....and reached its culmination in the works of Dante (1265-1327)" who further developed the theory of four elements.

### The Systematisers

A class of teachers systematically arranged the vast material obtained from Arabian sources so as to make it more readily accessible in accordance with spiritual truth as they realised it. The foremost among them were Alexander of Halle (1245), Robert Crossesteste (1255), St. Thomas Aquinas (1225-74), Albertus Magnus (1193-1290), Roger Bacon (1214-94), Arnold of Villanova (1235-1320) and Peter of Abano (1250-1320).

All the scientific treatises of Albertus were based on the Arabic translations of Aristotle's books, real and fictitious. Father of modern reasoning and Pioneer of scientific research "Roger Bacon was a disciple of the Arabs (M. N. Roy, *Historical Role of Islam*)."  
Whatever Greek learning he received, was through the Arab Philosophers and Scientists. Fully conversant with Greek, Hebrew and Arabic he received his know-

ledge of the spectacles from the work of Ibn-al-Haitham (Alhazen). Indirectly he was also highly indebted to Robert Grosseteste, the Arabist. He introduced the system of examination (which had been found among the 'Arabs) in the university of Paris and improved the University of Oxford. He spent 75 thousand dollars in collecting rare books and instruments and continued his researches for 40 years. As a reward he was thrown into prison as a 'Sorcerer' and he breathed his last shortly after his release ten years afterwards. His life amply illustrates the truth that "the Christian West not only accepted, but extended and developed the Muslim Sciences that came into its hands (Joseph Hell, *Arab Civilization*)."

### Commerce :

Another potential source for the spread of Arab civilisation was the Arabian commerce which extended from the Azores to the Far East and from Scandinavia to the Lake Chad. No other nation produced so fine and excellent goods as the Muslims. No other country was so enriched by the gifts of nature as the Moorish Spain whose fairs were visited by merchants even from Russia and Iceland. Their products were highly in demand in Europe, and the ports of Spain, Sicily, Egypt and the Levant used to remain filled with traders from Greece and Italy. The intelligent section of the Christians thus came in direct touch with the extraordinary civilisation of the Moors and they carried it far and wide.

### Universities

The universities were the main centres which influenced the trend of thought. "There were many translations (as shown above) of even later date which were widely used in the universities, especially in those of northern Italy and France. Botany, Zoology, Physics and Alchemy followed the line of Greco-Arabic tradition entirely (Arnold and Guillaume, *Legacy of Islam*)," Astronomy, Mathematics and Medicine not excepted. In Padua, Bologna, Paris and Montpellier only the works of classical writers at last obtained in Latin were taught. Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus and other eminent scholars expounded the scientific and philosophical works of the Arabian masters. The knowledge they imparted to students of different countries was in turn carried to their places of birth.

## The Jews

The principal preachers of Moorish civilisation were the ever-oppressed and now-oppressing Jews. Highly educated they stood second in education and culture only to the Muslims. By their joint efforts schools were founded at Bari, Salerno, Torontum and other places. When there was no writing material in Europe Bartholo Cause named 4000 Jewish scholars of Spain, France, Italy and other regions which came directly under the influence of Arab civilisation. In versatility and scholarship they were in no way inferior to the Moors at the zenith of their glory. "Jewish learning and Jewish genius contributed very largely to that bright, but transient civilisation which radiated from Toledo and Cordova and exercised so salutary influence upon the belief of Europe (Right Hon'ble Lecky, *Rationalism in Europe*)"

Greater than any other Jewish scholar of the Golden Age was Musa bin Maymun or Maimonides. His literary work definitely commenced at Fez (1160-5) under the guidance of a Muslim named Abdul Arab ibn Muisha. Like many others of his class he turned a Muslim and became court physician to Saladin the Great. Arabic translations formed the sole basis of his works which greatly influenced the medical sciences of Europe like those of Ibn-Rushd. Translated from Arabic into Hebrew and Latin they were attentively studied by Christian scholastics. It was mainly through his books that Jewish thought reached other nations upto the eighteenth century, their far-reaching effects being more evident in Jewish than Christian circles. Modern critics have detected his influence in the works of Albertus Magnus, his antagonist Duns Scotus, Spinoza and even Dante. Many of his methods of treatment are still in use (Hitti).

The Jews took a leading part in the translating movement at Toledo. All Arabic works containing real or scientific knowledge were translated into Hebrew by them. Having thus acquired the inestimable treasure of Arab lore they spread it every where.

From the tenth to the sixteenth century the commerce of Asia, Europe and Africa was practically in their hands. They were coveted as physicians in many courts of Europe. Numbers of them had settled in France, Italy and Portugal. They had acquired ascendancy in Provence and Languedoc from before. The facilities they used to get did not end with the termination of Muslim rule there. There were Jewish settlements in Leon, Narbonne, Carcassonne, Avignon and Montpellier, etc.



letter being a very big one. In the tenth and eleventh centuries most of the professional medical men at Montpellier were Arabs and Jews.

Being thus scattered in all lands and still maintaining a close touch with one another, the Jews, were in an advantageous position for preserving the invaluable lore and sciences of the Arabs and diffusing the same for the benefit of future generations. Else all the discoveries and inventions of Arab genius would have disappeared with their expulsion from Spain. It was mainly through the Jews that the Christian West became acquainted with Greek Sciences carefully preserved by the Muslims.

Banished from Iberia (1413) they took the works of Aristotle and Ibn-Rushd with them to the Latin West. By securing appointments in Salerno and other medical schools of Europe they disseminated the Greco-Arab learning there. This is why in countries like Italy where the Jews or their descendants settled, intellectual inspiration came earlier than elsewhere in Europe—a fact which shows that much of the credit for spreading Arab literature and sciences really belongs of them.

## خسروشاه

والی کوہ ہندو کش و کوہ کوئین

از محمد رحیم دہلوی

خسروشاه والی کوہ کش و کوہ کوئین بڑا سخی اور بہادر تھا۔ اس کے دشمن تک اس کی ان خوبیوں کو ماننے سے انکار نہیں کرتے۔ کہ مال گذاری کا بہترین انتظام کرنے میں کوئی اس کا ثانی نہ تھا۔ وہ نماز پابندی اوقات کے ساتھ ادا کرتا اور حلال و حرام کھانے میں بڑی احتیاط برتا تھا۔ خسروشاه مغلیہ سلطنت کے بانی بابر کا زبردست حریف تھا۔ جس وقت بابر کے پاس زمین کا ایک چپہ بھی نہیں تھا، خسروشاه دریائے آمو اور قہلہ سے کوہ ہندو کش تک کے وسیع اور عریض ملک پر حکمراں تھا ترمز، چغانیاں، حصار، ختلان، قندز وغیرہ بھی جو کوہ کوئین کے ضلع ہیں سوائے بدخشاں کے سب کے سب اس کی مملکت میں شامل تھے۔

خسروشاه کی شان و شوکت اور رعب و داب کا ادنیٰ اندازہ اس سے ہو سکتا ہے کہ ایک مرتبہ اس کے تحصیلدار حسن برلاس نے بابر کو دھکے دے کر اپنی مملکت سے باہر نکلوا دیا تھا۔ اس شان و شکوہ کے باوجود خسروشاه سخی اور رحم دل تھا۔ ایک مرتبہ بابر پر جب انتہائی برا وقت پڑا۔ اس کے پاس نہ رہنے کی جگہ رہی تھی اور نہ کہیں جانے کو ٹھکانہ، ایک ایک کر کے سب ساتھیوں نے اس کا ساتھ چھوڑ دیا تھا اور وہ سرہ طاق کی تنگ اور ڈھلوان گھاٹیوں میں سر ٹکراتا پھر رہا تھا، خسروشاه نے اس کو اپنے مصاحب کے ہاتھ نو گھوڑے اور نو ہارچے بھیج کر اس کی دل داری کی۔ باہرے دل قبول کر خسروشاه کو کوسا، ایک جگہ لکھتا ہے ”خسروشاه سیاہ دل فاسی کو دن بے سمجھ بے وفا اور نمک حرام آدمی ہے،“ لیکن اسی کے ساتھ ساتھ اس کی خوبیوں کو سراہنا بھی پڑا ہے، چنانچہ تزک میں لکھتا ہے۔ ”خسروشاه مدارات اور سخاوت بہت کرتا ہے اگرچہ وہ ترک ہے مگر مال گذاری وصول کرنے میں بہت ہوشیار ہے۔ ساتھ ہی جس قدر ہدا کرتا ہے، اسی قدر اڑا دیتا ہے۔ نماز کا پابند ہے، اور کھانے سے

میں بھی احتیاط کرتا ہے،، بابر جب سرہ طاق لٹی لٹائیوں میں حیران و پریشان سر برداں تھا اس وقت کی بنیاد تک تصویر اس کے اپنے الفاظ میں دیکھئے۔

”ان تنگ راستوں، بے ڈھب گڑھوں اور نہایت خوفناک لٹائیوں میں ہمارے بہت سے گھوڑے اور اونٹ تنگ کر چلنے کے قابل نہ رہے۔ تین چار منزلیں طے کر کے ہم سرہ طاق کی لٹائی میں پہنچے۔ یہ لٹائی کس بلا کی لٹائی ہے، میں نے کبھی ایسی دھواں اور تنگ لٹائی نہیں دیکھی تھی اور کبھی ایسے تنگ راستوں اور بے ڈھب گڑھوں میں چلنے کا اتفاق نہیں ہوا۔ بڑی تشویش اور مصیبت سے ان خطرناک گھوڑوں اور گڑھوں میں سے نکلے۔ پھر بڑی مشقت اور تکلیف اٹھانے کے بعد اونچی اونچی تنگ اور پرخطر لٹائیوں کو طے کر کے قان کی نواح میں پہنچے،“

قان کا مالک مہمان نواز آدمی تھا۔ اور اپنے نواح سے نذر نے والے معززین کی خاطر و مدارات اپنا فرض جانتا تھا۔ بابر کو بھی اس نے ایک گھوڑا عطا کیا۔ لیکن راستہ کی مشقت اور تکلیف نے بابر کو تلخ کام کر دیا تھا۔ لکھتا ہے :-

”ملک قان مہمان نوازی، سخاوت، خدمت گذاری اور انسانیت میں مشہور تھا۔ سلطان محمود مرزا ایک دفعہ ادھر سے گذرا تھا تو ملک قان نے ستر اسی گھوڑے اس کی نذر کئے تھے، اور بہت خاطر مدارات کی تھی۔ میرے لئے صرف ایک سربل سا گھوڑا بھیج دیا، اور آپ نہ آیا۔ خدا کی قدرت ہے جب ہم پر وقت پڑا ہے تو جو لوگ سخاوت میں مشہور تھے وہ خسیس ہو گئے اور جو لوگ باسروت تھے وہ مروت کو بھول گئے۔“

یہی وہ موقع تھا کہ خسرو شاہ نے نو گھوڑے اور نو پارچے بابر کو بھیجے تھے، لیکن بابر کی جس تلخ کاسی نے ملک قان کو صلواتیں سنائیں وہ خسرو شاہ کو کیوں نہ طعن دیتی۔ چنانچہ وہ لکھتا ہے :-

”خسروشاہ بھی بہت ہی سخی و کریم مشہور تھا۔ بدیع الزمان مرزا کے ساتھ اس نے جو سلوک کئے میں نے تزک میں لکھے ہیں۔ اس کے علاوہ اس نے باقی ترخان وغیرہ کے ساتھ بھی بیحد انسانیت اور سخاوت برقی لیکن دو دفعہ مجھکو اس کے ملک سے گزرنے کا موقع ہوا۔ اس نے مجھکو میرے نوکروں کے برابر بھی نہ سمجھا جو سلوک میرے ادنیٰ نوکروں کیساتھ کرنا چاہئے تھا وہ بھی میرے ساتھ نہ کیا،“

یہ عبارت جہاں بابر کی یہ شکایت ظاہر کرتی ہے کہ خسروشاہ نے اس کے ساتھ عمدہ سلوک نہیں کیا۔ وہیں خسروشاہ کی عام سخاوت اور رحم دلی پر بھی روشنی ڈالتی ہے۔ خسروشاہ کی اس بے رخی اور لاپرواہی نے جو اس نے بابر کیساتھ روا رکھی، بابر سے اسکی وہ بہت سی خویاں اور حسن سلوک منوالیا جو وہ لوگوں کے ساتھ روا رکھتا تھا۔ خسروشاہ ترکستان کی قوم قبچاق<sup>1</sup> سے تعلق رکھتا تھا۔ اس نے ابتدا میں معمولی سپاہی کی حیثیت سے اپنی زندگی شروع کی اور آخر کار عظیم حصہ پر اپنی فرمانروائی کے جھنڈے گاڑ دئے۔ اس کو بیک وقت بابر اور دوسرے کئی زبردست دشمنوں سے نبرد آزما رہنا پڑا تھا، اس کے باوجود اس نے ترقی کے دو انتہائی مدارج طے کئے کہ جیتک اس کی ترقی اور اقبال کا آفتاب روشن رہا۔ بابر اور چنگیز خان کے تمام نام لیواؤں کا ستارہ نہ چمک سکا۔ انہوں نے انفرادی حیثیت سے بھی اس کو زک دینی چاہی اور مشترکہ کوششوں سے بھی نیچا دکھانا چاہا، لیکن خسرو آخر خسرو تھا، دشمن اسکو جتنا نیچا دکھاتے تھے وہ اتنا ہی ابھرتا تھا۔ دشمنوں نے جب دیکھا کہ خسرو کو میدان جنگ میں شکست دینا محال ہی نہیں،

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اق کے نیچے زیر ہے۔ ترکستان میں قبچاق نام کا ایک صحرا ہے۔ اسی جنگل کے نام پر اس قوم کا نام بھی قبچاق ہو گیا۔ خسروشاہ اسی قوم کا ایک فرد تھا۔ تزک کے مترجمین میں سے ایک صاحب نے لکھا ہے کہ یہ لوگ لئیرے اور بے رحم ہوتے تھے۔ لیکن تزک کے مطالعہ سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ یہ ایک معزز قوم تھی۔ بابر کے خالدان میں اور اس قوم کے افراد میں سام ملو ہر رشتے ہوتے تھے۔

ناممکن ہے۔ تو انہوں نے منافقانہ سیاست اختیار کی۔ اس کے اسراء کو توڑ لیا، اس کے بھائیوں کو ورغلا کر علحدہ کر دیا۔ اور اسکے ساتھیوں کو اس سے برگشتہ بنادیا۔ اس طرح دشمنوں نے اپنے دل کی مراد پائی لیکن اس کے باوجود خسروشاہ تاریخ کے صفحات پر اپنی بہادری کے ایسے روشن نقوش ثبت کر گیا ہے جو کبھی دھندلے نہیں پڑ سکتے۔

خسرو شاہ نے ایک معمولی سپاہی کی حیثیت سے زندگی شروع کی تھی لڑکپن میں اس نے ترخانی<sup>1</sup> اسراء کے زیرتحت رہ کر اپنی شجاعت کا لوہا منوایا۔ اس کے بعد مزیدیگ ارغوں کی ملازمت اختیار کر لی۔ مزیدیگ ارغوں، بابر کے باپ عمر شیخ مرزا کے اسراء میں خاص شہرت کا مالک تھا اس سے بڑا کوئی دوسرا اسیر مرزا کی سرکار میں نہ تھا۔ علم و فضل میں بھی اس نے کمال حاصل کیا تھا۔ یہی سبب تھا کہ اسے بابر کا اتالیق مقرر کیا گیا تھا۔ مزیدیگ ارغوں خسروشاہ پر بہت سہربان تھا اور اس کی ہمت و دلیری کا معترف تھا۔ وہاں سے خسروشاہ کا دل اچاٹ ہوا، اور اس نے بابر کے سگے چچا سلطان محمود غازی کی مصاحبت اختیار کی اور انتہائی نازک اوقات میں سلطان کا ایسا ساتھ دیا کہ وہ اسکا کلمہ پڑھنے لگا۔ خسروشاہ کے لئے عروج و ترقی کی راہیں کھل گئیں۔ سلطان نے دریائے آموسے کوہ ہندو کش تک کا سارا علاقہ سوائے بدخشان کے خسروشاہ کے زیرتحت دیدیا بابر نے اس کی دانائی ہوشیاری اور مالگذاری وصول کرنے کی قابلیت کی داد دی ہے۔ لیکن اس کیساتھ اس کا بیان ہے

1 پچھلے زمانہ میں مغلوں اور ترکوں کی سرکار میں ”ترخان“، ایک معزز عہدہ تھا۔ ان سے کوئی خدمت نہیں لی جاتی تھی اور اتنی لوٹ معاف تھی کہ وہ جو مال لوٹ لیتے تھے اس میں سے بادشاہ تک اپنا حصہ نہیں لے سکتا تھا۔ وہ بادشاہ کے حضور میں بغیر اجازت حاصل کئے چلے جاتے تھے۔ انہیں اجازت تھی کہ وہ حضور شاہی میں جو چاہیں بے جھجک عرض کریں وہ کیسا ہی سنگین جرم کیوں نہ کریں نو دفعہ تک معاف ہو جاتا تھا۔ خسروشاہ کے زمانہ میں ان اسراء نے مخصوص خاندان کی حیثیت اختیار کر لی تھی اسی باثر خاندان کے زیرتحت خسروشاہ کی سیاسی زندگی کا آغاز ہوا۔

کہ وہاں کا سارا محصول وہ خود ہضم کر جاتا تھا۔ تاریخ کے اوراق بتاتے ہیں کہ اس وقت اسکے جاں نثاروں کی تعداد پانچ چھ ہزار تھی۔ لیکن یہ انتہائی ترقی کی طرف جانے کا پہلا زینہ تھا۔ قدرت نے نہایت عظیم الشان علاقہ کی فرماں روائی اس کی قسمت میں لکھی تھی۔ جہاں اس نے بڑے دہدے سے حکمرانی کی۔ اس وقت تیس ہزار آدمی اس کے اشارہ پر جان دینے کے لئے تیار رہتے تھے۔ بڑے بڑے جاں فروشوں نے خسرو شاہ کے کارہائے نمایاں کی چوٹ پر اس جیسی دلیری دکھانے کیلئے سردھڑ کی بازی لگائی۔ لیکن ایک اکیلی بہادری اور چیز ہے، اور بہادری و دانائی ملکر کچھ اور بھیڑ بن جاتی ہے۔ اور یہ وہ چیز تھی جو خسرو شاہ کو حاصل تھی۔ لوگوں نے اکثر اس کی نقل اتاری اور جان گنوا بیٹھے۔ باہر نے ایک ایسے ہی واقعہ کی دلچسپ روئداد لکھی ہے، اسکا بیان ہے:- ”پیر محمد ایلچی بوغا قوجین بلخ کے دروازے پر جنگ ہزار اسپ میں دعویٰ کر کے لڑا تھا۔ اور خوب لڑا تھا۔ وہ بہادر آدمی تھا۔ جس وقت سلطان حسین مرزا نے قندز کا محاصرہ کیا ہے اس وقت اس نے خسرو شاہ کی چوٹ پر تھوڑی سی بے سامان فوج لیکر ادھا دھند شبخون مارا، مگر کچھ نہ کر سکا۔ بھلا اتنے بڑے لشکر کے سامنے کیا کر سکتا تھا۔ اسکے پیچھے سے دشمن نے تعقب کیا۔ وہ دریا میں کود پڑا۔ اور وہیں ڈوب گیا۔“

سلطان محمود غازی کی بعض ناپسندیدہ عادتوں کے سبب رعیت اس سے خوش نہیں رہتی تھی۔ ایک مرتبہ حصار والوں نے بلوہ کر کے اسے شہر بدر کر دیا۔ اس وقت محمود غازی کی حالت بڑی نازک تھی، لیکن یہ خسرو شاہ تھا کہ اس نے اس انتہائی نازک وقت میں اس کا ساتھ دیا۔ اور امراء میں سے احمد مشتاق اور سید بدر کو ساتھ لیکر سلطان کے حق میں ایسے جوڑ توڑ لڑائے کہ وہ کونین اور کوہ ہندوکش بدخشاں سمیت سلطان کے قبضہ میں آ گئے۔ جان نثاری کی یہ ایک ایسی مثال تھی کہ محمود غازی اس سے متاثر ہوئے بغیر نہیں رہا۔ یہی اسباب تھے کہ وہ خسرو شاہ کو جان سے زیادہ عزیز تر سمجھتا تھا۔

سنہ ۸۵۷ھ مطابق سنہ ۱۴۵۳ء کا واقعہ ہے کہ سلطان محمود غازی تینالیس برس کی عمر میں چھ دن بیمار رہ کر سمرقند میں مر گیا۔

اس وقت اسکے لڑکوں میں سے کوئی سمرقند میں موجود نہ تھا۔ خسروشاہ نے مصلحت وقت سے بادشاہ کی موت کی خبر عوام سے چھپائی۔ لیکن یہ خبر ایسی نہ تھی کہ زیادہ عرصہ تک چھپی رہتی۔ اس سے پہلے کہ محمودغازی کے لڑکے سمرقند پہنچتے وہاں سلطان کی موت کی خبر سے گنتی کے چراغ جل گئے۔ فوج اور رعیت نے ملکر بلوہ کر دیا۔ خسروشاہ تقاضائے حالات کی بناء پر حصار چلا گیا۔

سلطان غازی کا لڑکا بائسنغر مرزا سمرقند پہنچکر تخت نشین ہوا تو بابر کے سکے ماموں محمود خاں (عرف جانی بیگ خاں) نے سمرقند پر حملہ کر دیا۔ فوجیں آمنے سامنے ہوئیں تو حیدر کوکتاش جو محمودخاں کی فوج کا سب سے بڑا سردار اور اس لڑائی میں ہراولی تھا۔ اپنے ساتھیوں سمیت گھوڑوں سے اتر کر سنگ باری کرنے لگا۔ ان اوکوں کو سنگ باری میں کمال حاصل تھا۔ لیکن خسروشاہ اور اسکے من چلے ساتھیوں نے پتھروں کی بارش کی۔ پرواہ کئے بغیر گھوڑے دبائے اور دشمنوں کو جو پیدل ہو چکے تھے روندتے ہوئے باہر نکل گئے۔ اس عظیم نقصان کے بعد محمودخاں کیا خاک مقابلہ کرتا۔ ذات انگیز شکست ہوئی۔ اس قدر آدمی مارے گئے کہ بائسنغر مرزا کو تین جگہ اپنا خیمہ پلٹنا پڑا۔

<sup>1</sup> بائسنغر مرزا سند ۵۲۸۸ میں حصار میں پیدا ہوا۔ وہ سلطان محمود غازی کا منجھلا بیٹا تھا۔ اس کی ماں کا نام بشیر بیگم تھا۔ عادل اور خوش طبع ہونے کے ساتھ ساتھ وہ نہایت اچھا شاعر تھا عادل اپنا تخلص کرتا تھا۔ اسکا ایک مطلع ہے:-

سایہ دار از ناتوانی جاہد جا می اوقتم      گر نہ گیرم روئے دیوار زیا می اوقتم  
بابر کہتا ہے۔ سمرقند میں کوئی گھر ایسا نہیں تھا، جہاں اسکے اشعار نہ لگے جاتے ہوں۔

<sup>2</sup> شجرہ نسب پشت پر ملاحظہ کیجئے۔

سنہ ۵۹۰۱ مطابق سنہ ۱۲۹۵ء میں سلطان حسین مرزا<sup>۳</sup> والی خراسان نے جو خاندان تیموریہ کا چشم و چراغ تھا، سلطان محمود غازی کے بڑے لڑکے سلطان مسعود مرزا<sup>۴</sup> پر فوج کشی کی مسعود حصار کا برائے نام بادشاہ تھا۔ در اصل زمام سلطنت خسروشاہ کے ہاتھ میں تھی۔ مسعود<sup>۵</sup> نے ترمز کے مقام پر سلطان حسین کا راستہ روکا۔ خسروشاہ کو

سلطان حسین مرزا کا شجرہ نسب یہ ہے:-

امیر تیمور صاحبقران

عمر نیخ مرزا (یہ بادشاہ نہیں ہوا)

ہائسنغر مرزا (یہ بھی بادشاہ نہیں ہوا،

منصور مرزا

سلطان حسین مرزا

یہ سلطان محمود مرزا غازی سب سے بڑا لڑکا تھا اس کی ماں خان زادہ عمدو میربزرگ ترمزی کی بیٹی تھی۔

ترمز بلخ اور حصار کے درمیان واقع ہے۔

چنگیزخان تزک کے ایک اور نسخے میں اسکا شجرہ نسب یوں ہے

چنگیز خان

چغتائی خان

چغتائی خان

مواتوکان

مواتوکان

ملسوان توا

ایس ہونما خان

ددا خان

براق خان

ایس ہونما خان

ددا خان

تعلی تیمور خان



جیسے بھی اس جگہ کی اطلاع ملی اس نے فوراً اپنے جہاز سے نکلی اور اس  
 لشکر جہاز دیکر مسعود کی مدد کے لئے پہنچا۔ غوریوں نے ان کے سامنے  
 دروازے آکر بڑا - موسم سردی غوریوں کے لئے تھا۔ ان کے لئے سردیوں میں  
 نہایت تھوڑا سا شومبار اندھا دیا۔ اس سے ان کے سامنے جہاز کے لئے ایک  
 رات جہازوں کے سامنے کو جہاز کے لئے غریب کے لئے تھا۔  
 مسعود شیر مشوق جگہ سے گھبرا کر - اس سے بہت مسرور تھا۔ اس  
 شہر میں جس نے شہر کو بڑا بڑا شہر بہت سے شہر سے ان کے سامنے  
 فوراً شہر - غریب چاہئے ان کے مسعود کے لئے تھا۔ وہ بھی - ان کے سامنے  
 دیا اور یہاں تک کہ غریب جہاز کے لئے تھا۔

سلطان حسین مرزا نے اپنے لئے راجہ راجہ اور جہاز دیکر انہیں  
 در فوج دیکر مرزا کی طرف روانہ کیا۔ ان کے سامنے جہاز کے لئے تھا۔  
 سلطان حسین نے راجہ مرزا کی طرف روانہ کیا۔ ان کے سامنے جہاز کے لئے تھا۔

نفس انور خان

خضر خواجہ خان

خضر خواجہ خان

محمد خان

محمد خان

نیر سی اوشلاں

نیر سی اوشلاں

ویس خان

ویس خان

یونس خان

یونس خان

سلطان محمود خان (مہر قند میں)

جانی بیک کے نام سے مشہور تھا)

سلطان محمود خان

سلطان محمود خان نساہ بیگم کے بطن سے پیدا ہوا۔ جو سلطان محمد  
 بادشاہ بدخشاں کی بیٹی تھی۔ بدخشاں کے بادشاہ اپنا نسب اسکندر  
 فیلتوس سے ملا تے تھے۔

اقدوز دریائے لکسیرا کے بالائی جانب ہے۔

پہلے سے منتظر تھا۔ چنانچہ وہ فوراً ہی مقابلہ کے لئے شہر سے باہر نکل آیا۔ بدیع الزماں مرزا نے شہر سے تین چار فرسنگ دور ایک خندق میں پناہ لی۔ حملہ آوروں کے پاس خسروشاہ سے دو گنی ڈیوڑھی فوج تھی۔ لیکن پھر بھی خسروشاہ پر حملہ نہ کرسکے۔ خسروشاہ کی فوج حملہ کرتی تو یہ ڈرپوک جو اتنی دور سے حملہ کرنے آئے تھے خندق میں چھپے بیٹھے رہتے تھے۔ باہر لکھتا ہے:-

”خسروشاہ اور اسکے ساتھی سردار اور بہادر بنگئے اور خندق سے باہر نہ نکلنے والے ڈرپوک مشہور ہوئے اور بدیع الزماں مرزا نے وہاں راہ فرار اختیار کی۔“

سلطان حسین مرزا، مسعود کے پیچھے پیچھے حصار گیا تھا۔ مسعود نے یہ چرکہ دیا کہ سلطان حسین کے حصار پہنچنے سے پہلے سمرقند روانہ ہو گیا۔ اور خسروشاہ کے دوسرے بھائی باقی چغانیانی نے قلعہ حصار پر سلطان حسین کے مقابلہ کا بندوبست کیا۔ سلطان حسین نے خود قلعہ کا محاصرہ کیا اور ابوالحسن مرزا کو فوج دیکر مسعود کے پیچھے بھیج دیا۔ حالت یہ تھی کہ سلطان بیک وقت تین جگہ محاذ بنا کر خسروشاہ کو شکست دینا چاہتا تھا۔ لیکن خسروشاہ نے بھی کچھ گولیاں نہیں کھیلی تھیں۔ اس نے بدیع الزماں مرزا کو شکست دیکر خود قوندز کو منہایلا کہ وہ اس کا مقام تھا اور اسکے چھوٹے بھائی ولی کو ایک لشکر جبار دیکر جو باہر کے الفاٹا میں نہایت عمدہ ساز و سامان سے لیس تھا، ملک پور میں پھیلا دیا کہ پیچھے سے حریف کو دباؤ اور تنگ کرے۔

ان شاطرانہ چالوں میں سلطان حسین کو ہر جگہ زک ہوئی۔ ابوالحسن نے مرزا کو راستہ میں جالیا پھر بھی کچھ بنائے نہ بنی، قلعہ حصار کے محاصرہ میں خود سلطان حسین نے انتہائی جاں کاہی سے کام لیا۔ باہر تزک میں لکھتا ہے:- ”سلطان حسین مرزا نے حصار کا محاصرہ کر لیا۔ رات دن وہ تپ لکڑے، قلعہ سر کرے، توہیں جمائے اور گوئے برسائے میں مصروف رہتا تھا۔ اور دم پور چین سے نہ بیٹھتا تھا۔“ چنانچہ چار ہانچ جگہ اس نے رنکڑی لکڑی اور آوب کے۔ سکن گولہ مار کر قلعہ کے برج

کو چور چور کر دیا۔ لیکن قلعہ والے بھی ہلاکے بہادر تھے۔ وہ حملہ آوری کی ہر چال کو بیکار کر دیتے تھے۔ ادھر ولی کے لشکر نے جبکہ جگہ ستانا اور ہرانا شروع کیا۔ آخر سلطان حسین کو مصالحت کرتے بنی۔ اس نے مسعود کی بڑی بہن سے اپنے لڑکے حیدر مرزا کی شادی کر کے اس دوستی کو مستحکم کیا۔ لیکن یہ استحکام اس قدر بودا تھا کہ ادھر شادی ہوئی اور سلطان حسین نے حصار کا محاصرہ اٹھایا، ادھر وہ قندز کی طرف روانہ ہوا کہ خسرو شاہ کا محاصرہ کرے، لیکن اسکے لڑکے بدیع الزماں نے سمجھایا کہ بارش کے سبب لشکر بہت تکلیف اٹھا چکا ہے اور یہ اقدام صحیح نہیں ہے۔ بیٹے کا مشورہ باپ کی سمجھ میں آیا اور اس نے خسرو شاہ سے صلح کر لی۔ طرفین کے جو لوگ گرفتار کر لئے گئے تھے وہ رہا کر دئے گئے۔ بابر نے لکھا ہے کہ:- ”خسرو شاہ نے جو اتنی ترقی کی اور حد سے باہر قدم رکھا اسکا سبب یہی تھا کہ سلطان حسین جیسے بڑے بادشاہ نے دو دفعہ اس پر چڑھائی کی اور اسکا کچھ بگاڑ نہ سکا۔“ سلطان محمود غازی کے لڑکوں نے جب سلطان حسین جیسے بڑے بادشاہ کے حملوں سے نجات پائی تو وہ آپس ہی میں سر بہ گریباں ہونے لگے۔ مئی یا جون سنہ ۱۴۹۶ء میں سمرقند میں اور ترخان امرا نے سمرقند میں فساد برپا کر دیا۔ بائسنغر مرزا پر یہ الزام تھا کہ وہ حصار کے امرا اور حصار کے فوجیوں سے جتنا میل جول رکھتا ہے سمرقندیوں اور ترخانیوں سے اتنی محبت نہیں کرتا۔ اس لئے انہیں کسی ایسے بادشاہ کی ضرورت تھی جو ترخانیوں اور سمرقندیوں پر لطف و عنایت کر سکے۔ چنانچہ ارویش محمد خاں ترخان جو ایک بااثر امیر تھا، سلطان علی مرزا<sup>۱</sup> کو قرش<sup>۲</sup> سے لا کر تخت پر بٹھا دیا اور بائسنغر مرزا کو گرفتار کر کے اسے

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<sup>۱</sup> سلطان علی مرزا بھی سلطان محمود مرزا غازی کا لڑکا اور بائسنغر مرزا اور مسعود مرزا کا بھائی تھا۔ لیکن ان تینوں کی مائیں آپس میں سوکنیں تھیں۔ سلطان علی مرزا ایک ازبک خاتون زھرہ بیگی آغا کے بطن سے تھا۔

موت کی سزا سنادی۔ ظہر کا وقت سر قلم کرنے کے لئے مقرر ہوا۔ لیکن بائسنفر مرزا کی زندگی تھی کہ وہ اتنے قلیل وقت میں سپاہیوں کے پہرے میں سے صاف نکل گیا۔

چند ہی روز میں پھر پانسہ پلٹا اور بائسنفر مرزا کو اتنا عروج حاصل ہوا کہ اس کے حسین بھائی نے موت کی سزا دی تھی وہ اسکے قبضہ میں آگیا اب بدلہ لینے کا وقت تھا۔ بائسنفر مرزا نے دوبارہ تخت پر بیٹھتے ہی حکم دیا کہ۔ سلطان علی مرزا کی آنکھوں میں نیل کی سلائیاں پھیر دی جائیں، حکم کی تعمیل ہوئی۔ لیکن یا تو سلائیاں بھرنے والا اس سازش میں شریک تھا یا اپنے کام میں ماہر نہ تھا۔ بہر کیف سلطان علی کی آنکھوں کو کوئی نقصان نہیں پہنچا۔ اس وقت تو اس نے بھی ظاہر کیا کہ میں اندھا ہو گیا ہوں لیکن دو تین دن کا غوطہ دیکر صاف نکل گیا اور اپنے حامیوں کے پاس بخارا جا پہنچا۔

بائسنفر مرزا نے جو دیکھا کہ دشمن قبضہ سے نکل گیا ہے تو وہ اس کے پیچھے پیچھے بخارا پہنچا۔ وہاں ایک معمولی سا معرکہ ہوا اور اس میں بائسنفر مرزا کو شکست ہوئی۔ اس کے اچھے اچھے سردار اور اسرا مارے گئے، لیکن وہ خود جان بچا کر بھاگا۔ اور سمرقند پہنچ کر دم لیا۔

اب سلطان علی اس کے پیچھے پیچھے سمرقند روانہ ہوا۔ بابر کو یہ خبر پہنچی۔ چنانچہ وہ بھی ۱۳ جون سنہ ۱۴۹۶ء کو سمرقند پر حملہ کی غرض سے چلا۔

سلطان مسعود مرزا، خسروشاہ کے پاس قندز میں مقیم تھا۔ اس نے جب سنا کہ اس کے دو بیٹے سمرقند کے لئے دست بگریاں ہیں اور بابر اس موقع سے فائدہ اٹھانے کے لئے سمرقند روانہ ہو گیا ہے تو اس نے بھی اپنی قسمت آزمائی چاہی۔ اس کے علاوہ وہ بائسنفر مرزا کے وزیر شیخ عبداللہ برلاس کی لڑکی پر فریفتہ تھا۔ اور فیصلہ کر چکا تھا کہ اسے ہر قیمت پر حاصل کر لے گا۔ خسروشاہ اب تک ان بھائیوں کے جھگڑے سے اپنے دامن کو بچائے ہوئے بیٹھا تھا۔ لیکن مسعود کا دعویٰ تھا کہ سمرقند پر اس کا بھی اتنا ہی حق ہے جتنا کہ اسکے بھائیوں کا ہے۔ اور یہ کچھ

غلط نہ تھا۔ اس کے علاوہ سمرقند جانے کا مطلب محب و محبوب کا وصال تھا۔ اس لئے خسرو شاہ نے اپنے بھائی ولی کو مسعود کے ساتھ کر دیا۔

مسعود اور ولی کے پہنچنے کے بعد بابر اور سلطان علی آپس میں متحد ہو گئے۔ لیکن اس اتحاد کے باوجود وہ زراسی کامیابی حاصل نہ کر سکے۔ اور بابر کا حملہ جو تاریخ میں سمرقند پر بابر کا پہلا حملہ کہلاتا ہے ناکام و نامراد رہا۔ سلطان علی اپنا سامنہ لیکر بخارا چلا گیا اور بابر خیر سے اند جاں واپس گئے۔

اس حملہ میں جہاں بابر اور سلطان علی کو ناکامی و نامرادی کا منہ دیکھنا پڑا۔ خسرو شاہ کے ساتھی اپنے مقصد میں کامیاب و کامراں ہو گئے سلطان مسعود کی شیخ عبداللہ برلاس کی بیٹی سے شادی ہو گئی۔ اور وہ مسرت و شادمانی کے نغمے گاتے ہوئے حصار چلے گئے۔ بابر تزک میں لکھتا ہے:-

سلطان مسعود مرزا نے شیخ عبداللہ برلاس کی بیٹی سے شادی کر لی اور ملک لینے کے خیال ترک کر کے وہ حصار واپس چلا گیا۔ اس کے آنیکا مقصد ہی یہ تھا کہ یہ شادی ہو جائے۔،

سلطان علی مرزا اور ہائسنغر مرزا اس کے بعد بھی آپس میں لڑتے رہے۔ کبھی یہ اسپر حملہ کرنے بخارا پہنچ جاتا اور کبھی وہ اس کو شکست دینے سمرقند آن دھمکتا۔ اس طرح نہ صرف دونوں کی قوت گھٹتی رہی، بلکہ بابر کی ہمت کو بھی شہ ملتے رہی۔ چنانچہ سنہ ۱۴۹۷ء مطابق سنہ ۹۰۳ھ میں اس نے دوبارہ سمرقند کا محاصرہ کر لیا۔ اس موقع پر آمنے سامنے ہو کر جو لڑائیاں لڑی گئیں، ان میں بابر کو کافی نقصان پہنچا۔ اس کے بڑے بڑے سپاہی مارے گئے۔ خواجگی ملا صدر<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ملا صدر کا عہدہ چیف جسٹس کے برابر ہوتا تھا۔ خواجگی ملا صدر بہت اچھا جوان تھا۔ بابر کے باپ شیخ عمر دراز نے اس کو مہر دار کر دیا تھا۔ وہ صاحب علم آدمی تھا۔ لغت پر اسکو بڑا عبور تھا۔ اور چوٹی کا انشا پرداز مانا جاتا تھا۔

(جو خواجہ کلان کا بڑا بھائی تھا) اور حاجی<sup>۱</sup> نیز محمود کوہ برسنگ وغیرہ اسی حملہ میں کام آئے تھے۔ لیکن محاصرہ چونکہ کافی طویل ہوتا چلا گیا اس لئے سات مہینے بعد ہائسنغر مرزا مایوس و لاچار ہو کر درتین سو آدمیوں کے ساتھ خسرو، شاہ کے پاس قندیز چلا گیا۔ خسرو شاہ نے نہایت شاندار پیمانہ پر اسکا خیر مقدم کیا اور شایان شان طریقہ پر اسکو خوش آمدید کہا۔ خسرو شاہ کے اس اسلوب کو باہر نے بھی مانا اور تسلیم کیا ہے۔ اسی دوران میں سلطان حسین مرزا اور اس کے لڑکے بدیع الزماں کے تعلقات آپس میں خراب ہو گئے، اور نوبت یہاں تک پہنچی کہ میدان کارزار گرم ہوا۔ اور بدیع الزماں مرزا کوشکست ہو گئی۔ خسرو شاہ کے حدود سلطنت کے باہر کی فضا بغض و دشمنی اور جنگ و جدال سے بھرپور تھی۔ لیکن خسرو شاہ کا زیرنگین علاقہ امن کا گہوارہ تھا۔ بدیع الزماں مرزا پر زمین تنگ ہوئی تو وہ بھی اپنے ساتھیوں سمیت خسرو شاہ کی پناہ میں پہنچا۔ خسرو شاہ نے اس موقع پر بھی فیاضی کا جو شاندار مظاہرہ کیا۔ وہ صفحہ تاریخ پر یادگار ہے، باہر لکھتا ہے:-

”خسرو شاہ نے بدیع الزماں کی بہت خاطر تواضع کی، گھوڑے، اولٹ، خیمے، ڈبرے اور فوجی مال و اسباب اسکو اور اس کے ہمراہیوں کو بے اندازہ پیش کیا۔ دیکھنے والے کہتے ہیں کہ اس ساز و سامان میں اور بدیع الزماں کے اپنے پچھلے مال اسباب میں کچھ فرق نہ تھا۔ شاید ہو تو سونے چاندی کے اسباب میں ہو۔“

سلطان مسعود کے عشق نے نیا گل کیلایا۔ اس نے عبداللہ برلاس کو جو اس کے بھائی ہائسنغر مرزا کا وزیر تھا اپنے ہاں بلایا۔ اگرچہ ہمار جسکا وہ فرمان روا تھا چھوٹی سی ریاست تھی لیکن اس نے خسرو کی حد سے زیادہ خاطر و مدارات کرنے کے لئے ایک ہزار تو مان فلوس ماہانہ تنخواہ مقرر کردی اور ختلان کا علاقہ بھی اسے دیدیا یہ علاقہ پہلے وہ اپنے ملازموں کی جاگیروں اور تنخواہوں میں دے چکا تھا۔ اب

حاجی، باہر کے بچپن سے اس کے ساتھ رہتا تھا۔

انہیں بے دخل کر کے اپنے خسر کو جو دیا تو اسرا و ملازموں میں بددلی پھیلی پھر اس کے علاوہ شیخ عبداللہ برلاس کے دونوں لڑکے مرزائی سرکار کے مالک و مختار بن گئے۔ امراء و ملازموں میں جو بددلی پھیل گئی تھی وہ بغاوت میں بدل گئی بہت سے اسرا بھات بھات کر دشمنوں سے جا ملے۔ خسرو شاہ نے جو یہ رنگ دیکھا تو اس نے حالات کو سنوارنے کی کوشش کی لیکن سلطان مسعود پر جو عشق کا بھوت چڑھا ہوا تھا وہ آسانی سے اترنے والا نہ تھا۔ اس کے علاوہ اسکے جن نئے رشتہ داروں کو اسکے یہاں نیا اقتدار ملا ہوا تھا وہ حالات میں تبدیلی کیوں گوارا کرتے، خسرو شاہ کا اقتدار انہیں ایک آن نہ بھایا۔ اسلئے حالات بد سے بدتر ہونے چلے گئے۔ دوستی اور آپس داری پہلے تو لاپرواہی اور بے نیازی کے نذر ہوئی تھی، پھر یہ لاپرواہی اور بے نیازی دشمنی میں بدل گئی۔ اور معرکہ ٹھن کے رہا۔ خسرو شاہ نے اپنے دونوں بھائیوں ولی اور باقی چغانیانی کو بدیع الزماں مرزا کے ساتھ کیا اور انہیں مسعود کے مقابلہ کے لئے حصار بھیج دیا۔ جانبین میں دو مرتبہ تلوار چلی، لیکن کوئی فیصلہ کن نتیجہ نہ نکلا۔ اسکے بعد بدیع الزماں مرزا قندھار چلا گیا۔ خسرو شاہ حصار کے رنگ کو بد رنگ دیکھ رہا تھا، اسلئے وہ زیادہ عرصہ تک اسکو برداشت نہ کر سکا۔ اسنے مسعود کے بھائی ہائسنغر مرزا کو اپنے ساتھ لیا اور حصار پر جا پڑا۔ آدھی رات کو حصار فتح ہو گیا۔ مسعود اپنے خسر کے ساتھ سر پر پیر رکھ کر اس بری طرح بھاگتا کہ راستہ میں دونوں ایک دوسرے سے بچھڑ گئے۔ خسرو شاہ نے مسعود کی جگہ اسکے بھائی ہائسنغر مرزا کو حصار کا تاج و تخت سونپ دیا۔ ہائسنغر مرزا کو بادشاہ بنانے کے بعد خسرو شاہ بلخ لینے کے ارادہ سے روانہ ہوا۔ اس مہم میں اسکے ساتھ جو لوگ تھے، ان میں ہائسنغر مرزا اس کا خود اپنا بھائی ولی اور اپنا ایک سردار نظر بہادر قابل ذکر ہیں۔ یہ لوگ بلخ کے نواح کو تاخت و تاراج کرتے رہے اس حملہ میں بلخ تو حاصل نہ ہو سکا لیکن گردو نواح سے بہت مال اسباب ملا۔

باقی چغانیاں نے سلطان مسعود کو نہ معلوم کیا جل دیا کہ وہ حصار چلا آیا۔ خسرو شاہ نے ہائسنغر مرزا کو بھی حصار بلا لیا۔

اسی زمانہ میں کابل کے بادشاہ الغ بیگ مرزا<sup>۱</sup> کا بیٹا میران شاہ مرزا اپنے باپ سے باغی ہو کر حصار پہنچا۔ امرا نے ان تینوں شہزادوں کو حصار میں جمع دیکھ کر فیصلہ کیا کہ ان تینوں کا قضيہ چکا دیا جائے کہ ان کے سبب کافی خون خرابہ ہو چکا ہے۔ نہ رہیگا بانس نہ بچے گی بانسری۔ ان کو یقین تھا کہ اس امان قایم کرنے کے لئے ان تینوں کا قتل کیا جانا ضروری ہے۔ خسرو شاہ بائسنغر مرزا کی بادشاہت کا حامی تھا اور اسے بادشاہ بنانا چاہتا تھا۔

بائسنغر مرزا کو اپنے بھائی سے مخالفت کا اندیشہ تھا۔ اور بھائیوں کے ہاتھوں کئی مرتبہ اس کی جان جو کھوں میں پڑ چکی تھی اس لئے مسعود مرزا کا وجود اس کے لئے ناقابلِ برداشت تھا۔ اپنے بھائیوں کو سزا دینے کا جو طریقہ اسے یاد تھا وہ وہی تھا جو اس سے پہلے وہ اپنے دوسرے بھائی سلطان علی مرزا کے ساتھ برت چکا تھا۔ بائسنغر مرزا کے حکم سے اس کی آنکھوں میں سلاٹیاں پھیری گئی تھیں۔ یہ اور بات ہے کہ وہ کر گر ثابت نہ ہوئیں اور سلطان علی کی بصیرت قائم رہی۔ اس موقع پر مسعود کے لئے بھی وہی سزا تجویز ہوئی۔ اس مرتبہ بصارت کو ختم کرنے کیلئے نشتر سے کام لیا گیا۔ اور مسعود کی بینائی چھین کر اسے اندھا کر دیا گیا۔ بابر نے سلطان علی مرزا کو اندھا کرنیکا تمام تر الزام خسرو شاہ پر رکھا ہے۔ چنانچہ لکھتا ہے :-

سلطان مسعود مرزا کو جسکو خسرو شاہ نے بچہ سا پالا تھا اور جس کا وہ اتالیق بنی رہا، اس پنج روزہ دنیا کے لیتے جس نے نہ اس کے ساتھ وفا کی اور نہ کسی اور کے ساتھ وفا کرے کی نمک حرام نے نشتر سے اندھا کرا دیا،

(نژدہ بابر ص ۶۰)

ابہ سمرقند کے مشہور بادشاہ کا ہمنام تھا۔ اور سلطان عمر شیخ کا بھائی تھا۔



لیکن عجیب بات یہ ہے کہ وہ اپنی تزک میں یہی الزام اس سے پہلے ولی پر لگا چکا ہے چنانچہ لکھتا ہے :-

ولی خسرو شاہ کا چھوٹا اور سگا بھائی اپنے ساتھیوں کو اچھی طرح رکھتا تھا - اسی نے سلطان مسعود مرزا کو اندھا کرایا تھا،

( تزک بابری صفحہ ۳۱ )

بابر کی تحریر کا یہ تضاد جہاں مورخین کو اس مجرم کا سراغ لگانے میں مشکلات میں مبتلا کرتا ہے وہیں بابر کے روز نامچہ کو مشکوک بنادیتا ہے۔ وہ ایک جگہ ایک جرم کا مجرم قطعی طور پر ولی کو قرار دیتا ہے۔ اور اس سلسلہ میں وہ اس کے کسی ساتھی کو کوئی الزام نہیں دیتا لیکن تیس صفحات کے بعد خسرو شاہ کو اس جرم کا مجرم بتاتا ہے اور یہاں بھی تنہا تمام تر جرم ایک ہی فرد پر تھوپتا ہے۔ اس سے زیادہ عجیب بات کیا ہو سکتی ہے کہ بابر جیسا روز نامچہ نویس جسے کافی ثقہ اور سنجیدہ ہونا چاہیئے اور جو خود اپنے تزک کی سچائی کا بار بار قصیدہ سرائی کرتا ہے ایک ہی جرم کا دو جگہ ذکر کرتا ہے۔ اور دونوں مقامات پر جرم کا مجرم دو الگ الگ آدمیوں کو بتاتا ہے۔ اس لئے یہ امر مشکوک ہو جاتا ہے کہ شاہ کو اس قصور کا مجرم گردانا جائے یا نہیں۔

بابر کے روز نامچہ میں یہ بھی کچھ کم حیرت انگیز نہیں ہے کہ اس نے اس بالئسنغر مرزا کو قطعی بے گناہ ثابت کیا ہے جو مسعود کے اندھے ہو جانے کے بعد تاج و تخت کا مالک بنا۔ کیونکہ بابر نے گو دو جگہ اپنے مختلف دشمنوں کو یہ الزام دیا ہے، لیکن ان دونوں جگہ بالئسنغر مرزا پر کوئی ادنیٰ سا شبہ بھی ظاہر نہیں کیا۔ بہر کیف سلطان علی مرزا کے اندھے ہو جانے کے بعد خسرو شاہ نے بالئسنغر مرزا کو بادشاہ بنا کر حصار بھیج دیا۔ میران شاہ مرزا کو بامیاں کی طرف روانہ کیا۔ اور اس کی امداد کے لئے سید کامل کو اس کے ساتھ کر دیا۔

مسعود مرزا کے اندھے ہو جانے کے بعد اس کے چند عزیز اسے اس کے بیٹائی سلطان علی مرزا کے پاس سمرقند لے جانے لگے۔ لیکن عوام مسعود سے اس قدر ناراض تھے کہ وہ اس کے اندھے ہو جانے پر بھی مطمئن نہیں ہوئے وہ اسکے جان کے لاگو تھے۔ چنانچہ جب یہ بیچارہ اندھا ہو گیا اور اس کے ساتھی کیش پہنچے تو وہاں کے لوگ اس کو قتل کر دینے پر تل گئے۔ اس کے ساتھیوں نے بہ مشکل اسے بچایا۔ اور وہاں سے بیٹاگ کر سلطان حسین مرزا کے پاس لے گئے۔ سنہ ۹۰۵ ہجری مطابق سنہ ۱۴۹۹ ع میں خسرو شاہ نے بلخ پر فوج کشی کا ارادہ کیا۔ کمک کے لئے بائسنغر مرزا کو بھی قندز سے بلایا گیا۔ وہاں سے یہ لشکر جرار بلخ روانہ ہوا۔ مقام اوباج<sup>۱</sup> میں پہنچکر حالات نے عجیب رنگ پلٹا۔ دوستوں کے تعلقات دشمنی میں بدل گئے۔ چنانچہ بائسنغر مرزا اور اس کے امراء اور درباریوں کو گرفتار کر لیا گیا۔ اور ۱۰ محرم سنہ ۹۰۵ کو یہ سب قتل کر دئے گئے۔ بائسنغر مرزا کے قتل کے متعلق بھی باہر نے مختلف حالات بیان کئے ہیں جو ایک دوسرے سے متضاد ہیں چنانچہ وہ لکھتا ہے ”جس وقت مقام اوباج میں پہنچے اس وقت کافر نعمت خسرو شاہ کو سلطنت کی دوس ہوئی اس دوس میں اس نے بائسنغر مرزا جیسے خوش طبع، پر فضیلت اور صاحب حسب و نسب بادشاہزادہ کو امراء سمیت گرفتار کر لیا اور کمان کے چلے سے پھانسی دیکر محرم کی دسویں کو شہید کر ڈالا۔ (تزک ص ۶۹)“، حالانکہ باہر نے اس سے پہلے اسی تزک میں اس قتل کی تمام و کمال ذمہ داری ولی بر ڈالی ہے۔ چنانچہ وہ لکھتا ہے :- ”ولی نے بائسنغر مرزا کو قتل کرایا تھا وہ (ولی) ہر کسی کی غیبت کیا کرتا تھا، ”زبان نحش گو خود پسند اور بد دماغ آدمی تھا“، - (تزک ص ۳۱) باہر کے متضاد بیانات کے سبب یہ فیصلہ بہت مشکل ہے کہ بائسنغر مرزا کے قتل کی ذمہ داری کس پر ڈالی جائے۔ ولی اور خسرو شاہ دونوں باہر کے شدید دشمن تھے۔ اس لئے باہر نے ایک ہی تیر سے دو شکار کرنے کی کوشش کی ہے۔ تزک پڑھنے والے قارئین میں سے جن حضرات کا حافظہ کمزور ہو وہ آسانی سے نفرت کا شکار ہو سکتے ہیں۔ لیکن شائر نثر سے مطالعہ کرنے والے ضرور حیران ہونگے کہ

<sup>۱</sup> یہ ایک راستہ ہے جو قبادین کے پاس ہے۔

وہ بابر کے کس بیان کو صحیح سمجھیں اور کس بیان کو غلط جانیں۔ یہ واقعات اس دور میں ظہور پذیر ہوئے تھے، جب کد خسرو شاہ کا اقبال عروج پر تھا۔ اور بابر کا ستارہ ڈوب رہا تھا۔ چنانچہ بابر کو وہ جان لیوا مشکلات اسی دور میں پیش آئی تھیں، جنہیں اس کی عمر بھر کی مصیبتوں میں تلخ تر سمجھا جاسکتا ہے۔ اس لئے اس کی تلخ نوائی شدید سے شدید تر ہو گئی ہے۔ یہی وہ زمانہ تھا جب بابر سمرقند پر حملہ کی نیت سے جا کر ناکام و نامراد لوٹا تھا۔ اور اس کا سب سے بڑا دشمن شہبانی خان ہر محاذ پر فتح کے جھنڈے گاڑتا ہوا آگے بڑھا چلا آ رہا تھا۔ جب شہبانی خان نے بخارا لیکر سمرقند کی طرف یورش کی تو بابر نے جو اس سے بے حد خائف تھا سمرقند کے نواح سے فرار ہونے میں سلامتی پائی اور کنیشی<sup>۱</sup> میں پہنچ کر دم لیا۔ سنہ ۹۰۶ھ مطابق جولائی ۱۵۰۰ع کے شروع مہینوں میں شہبانی خان نے سمرقند بھی فتح کر لیا۔ تو بابر نے کنیش کو بھی اپنے لئے محفوظ نہ سمجھا، اور حصار کی طرف بھاگا۔ بد اقبالی سائے کی طرح ساتھ ساتھ تھی۔ اسراء کنارہ کشی کرنے لگے۔ اور جاں نثاروں نے آنکھیں بدل لیں۔ خسرو شاہ کی قسمت پوری آب و تاب سے چمک رہی تھی۔ جو لوگ بابر کا ساتھ چھوڑتے وہ خسرو شاہ کے سایہ عاطفت میں پناہ لیتے۔ بابر خود لکھتا ہے :-

”جیسے ہی از بکوں نے سمرقند پر قبضہ کیا۔ ہم کنیش سے حصار کی طرف چلے، محمد فرید تر خان اور اسراء سمرقند ساتھ ساتھ تھے۔ علاقہ خغانیاں کے مرغزاز میں پہنچنے کے بعد یہ سب کے سب مجھ سے علحدہ ہو کر خسرو شاہ کے پاس چلے گئے اور اس کے نوکر ہو گئے۔ میری یہ حالت ہو گئی کہ میں شہر اور ملک سے محروم نہ کہیں رہنے کی جگہ نہ کہیں جانے کا ٹھکانہ۔“

اس کے بعد بابر کمرہ تاق کے اوپر سے چلتا ہوا نونداک کے نواح میں پہنچا، یہی وہ جگہ ہے جہاں خسرو شاہ نے اپنے ایلچی کی معرفت نو گھوڑے اور نو پار چے بابر کو بھیجے تھے۔ بابر نے تحفہ قبول تو کر لیا، لیکن اس کے باوجود اس نے تزک میں خسرو شاہ اور اس کے اس تحفہ پر دل

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سمرقند کے شمال میں پہاڑوں کے اس طرف ایک قلعہ ہے

بابر کی زندگی کا بائیسواں سال جب اس لرزہ خیز مصیبتوں میں کٹا اور اس نے تیسویں سال میں قدم رکھا تو اس کی حالت کسی قدر سنبھلی اس بہتر حالت کی ابتری کا نقشہ بھی بابر ہی کے الفاظ میں دیکھئے :-

”تیسواں سال مجھے شروع تھا کہ میں نے ڈاڑھی منڈوائی - جو لوگ ایک امید پر میرے ساتھ پھرتے تھے وہ چھوٹے بڑے سب مل کر دوسو سے زیادہ اور تین سو سے کم تھے - ان میں اکثر پیدل تھے - اکثر کے پاس صرف لائٹیاں تھیں، کوئی ننگے پیر تھا اور کسی کے پاؤں میں موزے تھے - منسلی استدر تھی کہ ہمارے پاس فقط دو خیمہ تھے - میرا خیمہ میری والدہ کے لئے لگادیتے تھے اور میرے لئے ہر پڑاؤ پر ایک چھولداری کھڑی ہو جاتی تھی،“

یہ اس سفر کا حال ہے جبکہ سنہ ۹۱۰ھ کے ماہ محرم میں وہ خراسان جانے کے لئے ملک فرغانہ سے چلا تھا جب وہ حصار پہنچا تو اس نے ملا بابا ساغر جی کو جو پھر اس کے پاس آگیا تھا، خسرو شاہ کی خدمت میں بھیجا لیکن خسرو شاہ، بابر کو قابل اعتنا ہی کہاں سمجھتا تھا کہ وہ سیدھے منہ بات کرتا - ملا بابا اپنا سامنہ لیکر واپس آ گئے - بابر لکھتا ہے :- ”ان ہی دنوں میں ملا بابا ساغر جی آیا جسے خسرو شاہ کے پاس بھیجا تھا - اس نے خسرو شاہ کی طرف سے کوئی ایسی بات بیان نہیں کی جس سے تسلی ہوتی -“

اس کے بعد تاریخ نے ورق بدلا - اس صفحہ پر جو تحریر مرقوم تھی ، اس میں خسرو شاہ کی بد نصیبی کی زھر گداز داستان تھی اور بابر کی لامرادی خوش قسمتی سے بدل گئی تھی - اس کہانی کا آغاز یوں ہوتا ہے کہ بابر بہال پریشان خراسان جا رہا تھا کہ خسرو شاہ کے نوکروں نے اسے چپکے چپکے دوستی کا پیغام بھیجا ادھار و پریشانی بابر کے جس قافلے کو مارا مارا خراسان کی طرف ڈھکیل رہی تھی ، امید کامرانی نے اس کے قدم تھامے - بابر لکھتا ہے :- ”روزانہ کوئی نہ کوئی آتا تھا اور اعلیٰ ملک اور قبیلوں کی طرف سے ایسی گفتگو کرتا تھا، جس سے ڈھارس بندھ جاتی تھی -“ چنانچہ بابر نے مقام املاک سے تین چار منزل چل کر مقام خواجہ عماد

میں جو حصار کے گرد و نواح میں بے ڈیرے ڈال دئے اور جب اس کا قافلہ چلتا بھی تو آسید ایک ایک دن ہر منزل پر قیام کراتی۔ آسید و یاس کی پل صراط پر چلتا تھا جب یہ قافلہ مقام قبادبان پر پہنچا تو خبر آئی کہ خسرو شاہ کا چھوٹا بھائی باقی چغانیانی بغاوت پر آمادہ ہو گیا ہے۔ اس نمک حرام نے خسرو شاہ کی قسمت پر مہر لگادی۔ لہذا برباد ہوئی ہے تو اسے گھر کے بھیدیوں ہی نے ڈھایا ہے باقی جو شہر صفا اور ترمذ پر حکمرانی کر رہا تھا اپنی گردن پر بابر کی غلامی کا جوا رکھنے پر تیار ہو گیا۔ خطیب قرشی اسکی طرف سے بابر کی خدمت میں دوستی کا پیغام لایا۔ بابر کے لئے یہ خبر پیغام نوید تھی اس نے ایواح کے راستے دریائے آمو کے پار ہو کر باقی سے ملاقات کی۔ اور اسے ہمراہ لیکر کھمرو د بانیان کی طرف روانہ ہوا۔ اس کی خواہش تھی کہ شاہ اسماعیل صفوی کے پاس جائے اور اس کی مدد لیکر اپنے دشمنوں کو نیست و نابود کر دے۔ جب وہ مقام ایبک میں پہنچا تو خسرو شاہ کے ساتھیوں میں سے یار علی بلال جو کسی زمانہ میں بابر کے پاس رہ چکا تھا کچھ آدمیوں سمیت بھاگ کر بابر کے پاس آیا۔ اور خسرو شاہ کے ساتھ جو مغل امراء تھے انکی طرف سے خیر سگالی کا پیغام دیا۔ یہاں سے آگے چل کر جب وہ درہ اندان میں پہنچے تو قنبر علی بیگ جسے قنبر علی سلاخ بھی کہتے تھے بابر سے آن ملا۔ بابر خوشی کے شادیا نے بجاتا ہوا قلعہ اجیر پہنچا۔ اور وہیں اس نے اپنے سوتیلے بھائی جہانگیر مرزا کی تقریب نکاح کا جشن منایا<sup>1</sup> ان ہی دنوں میں سلطان حسین مرزا کے پاس سے بابر کے نام پیغام آیا کہ شیبانی خان فتح و نصرت کے ڈنکے بجاتا ہوا بڑھا چلا آ رہا ہے۔ میں مرغاب کے کنارے کا بندوبست کرتا ہوں، تم چونکہ اس وقت اجر میں ہو، اس لئے کھمرو د، اجر اور اس طرف کے پہاڑ کی تلیٹی کا بندوبست کرلو۔ اسی طرح اس نے بدیع الزماں مرزا کو بلخ اور شیر خان کے قلعوں کی ذمہ داری سونپی تھی۔ اور خسرو شاہ کو لکھا تھا کہ حصار اور قندز کے قلعوں کو اپنے معتبر آدمیوں کے سپرد کر کے تم ولی کے ساتھ بدخشاں ختلان کے پہاڑوں کا انتظام کرو۔ تاکہ شیبانی خان کو بے نیل و سرام واپس جانا پڑے۔

<sup>1</sup> جہانگیر مرزا کا نکاح سلطان محمود خاں کی بیٹی سے ہوا تھا۔ جو خانزادہ بیگم کے بطن سے تھی دولہا دلہن کے والدین نے اپنی زندگی ہی میں ان دونوں کی منگنی کردی تھی۔

شیخ چلی نے جاگتے میں جس طرح خواب دیکھا تھا، اسی طرح شیبانی خان کے یہ سب حریف خواب دیکھتے رہے۔ بابر کو البتہ ان خطوط سے کچھ مایوسی ہوئی۔ وہ لکھتا ہے:-

”سلطان حسین مرزا کے یہ خطوط باعث نا اُمید ہوئے کیونکہ تیموریہ خاندان میں آج عمر میں، لشکر میں اور ملک میں اس سے بڑا اور بہادر دوسرا بادشاہ نہیں ہے۔ امید یہ تھی کہ متواتر ایلچی اور نامہ بر آکر تاکیداً حکم پہنچائیں گے کہ ترمذ کف اور کوکی کے گھاٹوں پر پل باندھنے کا اسباب اور کشتیاں تیار رکھو، گھاٹوں کی دیکھ بھال کرتے رہو، اس طرح ان لوگوں کی ہمت بندہ جاتی جو اس مدت میں از بکوں کے ہاتھوں شکستہ دل ہو گئے تھے۔ جب سلطان حسین مرزا جیسا شخص جو امیر تیمور کا جانشین ہوا اور اتنا بڑا بادشاہ ہو، وہ غنیم پر فوج کشی نہ کرے، اور حملہ کرنے کے بجائے اپنے مقامات کی حفاظت پر اکتفا کرے تو دوسرے لوگ کیا امید کر سکتے ہیں، ہمارے پاس تو آدمی اور گھوڑے ہیں، ننگے بھوکے اور مرہل ہیں،۔ پھر بنی بابر نے اس مرہل لشکر کو لیکر آگے بڑھنا چاہا۔ لیکن جس طرح شیخ چلی کے خواب کا ڈراپ سین ہوا تھا۔ اسی طرح ان کے خواب کا حشر ہوا۔ محمد شیبانی خان نے فتح و نصرت جس کے جلو میں ساتھ ساتھ چلتے تھے سب سے پہلے خسرو شاہ کو تاکا۔ کہ اس وقت اسی کی قوت ٹوٹی ہوئی تھی۔ امراء اور مصاحب دھادے گئے تھے اور مگے بھائی نے آنکھیں پھیر لی تھیں۔ شیبانی خان کا تبر صحیح نشانہ پر بیٹھا جب سلطان حسین جو بابر کے الفاظ میں سب سے بڑا بادشاہ تھا اور جس کے پاس سب سے زیادہ فوج تھی، شیبانی خان سے کئی کہنا تھا تو اس حالت میں ایک اکیلا خسرو شاہ کیا بھاڑ بھونتا۔ پھر حالت یہ تھی کہ بابر اس حالت میں بنی خسرو شاہ کے مغل امراء سے ساز باز کر رہا تھا۔ جس وقت بابر اپنے لشکر کو جو اس کے اپنے الفاظ میں مرہل آدمیوں اور مرہل گھوڑوں پر مشتمل تھا لیکر شیبانی خان کو روکنے پہنچا۔ اس وقت ہی وہ خسرو شاہ کو ہرباد کر دینے سے شافل نہیں تھا۔ لکھتا ہے:- ”میں اسی لشکر کو لیکر نکل کھڑا ہوا۔ خسرو شاہ کے مغلوں نے متوالر آدمی بھیجے کہ ہم نے آپ کی اطاعت اختیار کی ہے۔ عداوت تمام

قبیلے اشکمش اور دیگر قلعوں میں آگئے ہیں۔ آپ ہمارے پاس جلد آجائیں۔ خسرو شاہ کے اکثر ملازم تباہ ہو کر آپ کے مطیع ہو جاتے ہیں۔،، شیبانی خان نے اندجان لیتے ہی حصار ورنندز پر فوج کشی کی۔ خسرو شاہ بیچارے کو بھاگتے ہی بنی۔ بابر نے جو محمد شیبانی خان سے مقابلہ کرنے چلا تھا جب یہ سنا کہ خسرو شاہ شکست کھا کر اسی راستے سے گذر رہا ہے تو اس نے میدان جنگ میں محمد شیبانی خان جیسے فولادی انسان کے سامنے جانے کی بہ نسبت یہ زیادہ مناسب سمجھا کہ شکست خوردہ خسرو شاہ کا راستہ روکا جائے۔ اس موقع پر خسرو شاہ کے اور تین چار ہزار مغل ساتھیوں نے اسے دغادی اور بمع مال و اسباب کے بابر سے جاملے۔ خسرو شاہ کے پر قینچ ہو چکے تھے۔ بیچارہ زخمی کبوتر کی طرح بازو پھڑپھڑا کر رہ گیا اب مصالحت کے سوا چارہ نہ تھا۔ اپنے داماد یعقوب بیگ کو ایلچی بنا کر بابر کے پاس بھیجا کہ صلح کر لی جائے۔ خسرو شاہ اس طرح بے دست و پا ہو تو بابر کو صلح کرنے پر کون مجبور کر سکتا تھا۔ لیکن بھائی کے خون میں جوش آیا۔ باقی نے جو بابر کی سرکار میں مختار تھا یہ تجویز پیش کی کہ خسرو کی جان کو امان دیجائے اور جتنا مال وہ لے جانا چاہے اسے روکا نہ جائے بابر خون کے گھونٹ پی کر رہ گیا اور اسے بادل ناخواستہ اس معاہدہ کو ماننا پڑا۔ لکھتا ہے :-

”باقی چغانیانی میری سرکار میں مختار تھا۔ وہ اگرچہ میری خیر خواہی کا دم بھرتا تھا مگر اس وقت اپنے بھائی کا پاس کر گیا۔،،

معاہدہ ہو جانے کے بعد بابر خسرو شاہ سے ملنے دریا پار گیا۔ وقت کی ناسازگاری کے باوجود خسرو شاہ کی سچ دھج میں اس وقت بھی فرق نہ آیا تھا۔ بابر لکھتا ہے :-

”خسرو شاہ بڑے طمطراق سے آیا۔ یہ بڑا احمق تھا جو مدتوں اپنے تئیں لئے دئے رہا سوائے اس کے کہ اس نے اپنے نام کا خطبہ نہیں پڑھوایا سلطنت کے سارے لوازم رکھتا تھا۔،،

اس ملاقات میں خسرو شاہ نے بابر سے جو گفتگو کی اس میں نہ خوشامد تھی

اور نہ خوف کا شائبہ تھا۔ بابر خسرو کی اس خود اعتمادی پر بہت ناراض ہے:-

”باوجود نامرد اور نمک حرام ہونے کی باتیں بھی اس کی لغو اور بے مزہ تھیں۔ حال تو یہ تھا کہ اس کے نوکروں کی ٹولیوں کی ٹولیاں اس کی آنکھوں کے سامنے ہمارے پاس آگئیں اور نوبت یہاں تک پہنچ گئی کہ مردود یا تو بادشاہ بنا پھرتا تھا یا اس قدر ذلیل و خوار ہو گیا۔ میں نے اس کے آدمیوں کے اس سے جدا ہو جانے پر اسکی دلدادگی کی۔ اسکے جواب میں کہنے لگا کہ یہ لوگ چار مرتبہ اسی طرح چلے گئے ہیں اور پھر آگئے ہیں۔ میں نے ہوجینا ولی کب آئے گا اور دریائے آمو کے کون سے گھاٹ سے اترے گا۔ کہنے لگا جہاں سے اترنے کا موقع دیکھے گا خود چلا آئیگا کیونکہ دریا کی طغیانی سے گھاٹ پلٹ جاتے ہیں۔“

اس گفتگو کے بعد بابر اور خسرو اپنے اپنے لشکروں میں واپس چلے گئے۔ بابر اپنے عظیم دشمن کی تباہی پر سجدہ شکر بجا لایا۔ لکھتا ہے:-

”خدا کیسا قادر ہے اس نے ایسے عالی مرتبت آدمی کو جو تیس ہزار آدمیوں کا آقا تھا۔ اور تہلتہ<sup>1</sup> سے ہندو کش تک کا مالک تھا اور جس کے ایک تحصیلدار حسن برلاس نے مجھ کو دھکے دیکر تحصیل<sup>27</sup> سے نکل دیا تھا، ڈیڑھ دن میں ہم جیسے دو ڈھائی سو منسلوں اور محتاجوں کے سامنے ایسا ذلیل اور بے بس کر دیا۔“

اس ذلت اور بے بسی میں بھی اس کے پاس زر و جواہر کے انبار تھے۔ بابر لکھتا ہے:- ”سونے اور چاندی کے اسباب اور جواہرات سے بھری عورتی اولاد اور خچروں کی چار قطاریں اس کے پاس تھیں ان سب کو وہ لے گیا۔“ البتہ بابر کو اس کے اسلحہ خانہ سے سات آٹھ سو جوشن اور گرز ہاتھ لگے۔ اس کے سوا کچھ نہ ملا۔ خسرو شاہ وہاں سے حصار چلا تو بابر نے شیرم لمعانی کو ساتھ کر دیا کہ حصار تک خسرو شاہ کے

اس کو ہند آہنی ہوی کہتے ہیں۔

اس تحصیل کا نام باب واج تھا۔



ساتھ جائے اور واپسی میں کھمرو سے باہر کے اہل و عیال کو ساتھ لے آئے جو اس وقت احمد قاسم کے ساتھ وہاں مقیم تھے۔

احمد قاسم باقی چق نیانی کا بیٹا اور خسرو شاہ کا بھتیجا تھا۔ جس وقت خسرو شاہ شیرم طغائی کے ساتھ کھمرو کے قریب پہنچا تو خسرو نے احمد قاسم کو پیغام بھیجا کہ تمہارے ساتھ جتنے آدمی ہیں، ان کو گرفتار کر لو، لیکن یہ خبر چھپی نہ رہ سکی۔ قلعہ والوں نے اس موقع پر بڑی دانائی برتی اور شیرم طغائی سے کہلا بھیجا کہ تم خسرو شاہ کو گرفتار کر لو۔ ہم یہاں احمد قاسم کو گھیرتے ہیں۔ یہ خبر سنتے ہی خسرو شاہ اور احمد قاسم سٹپٹا گئے اور انہیں بھاگتے ہی بنی۔ حصار جاتے ہوئے انہیں بدیع الزماں مرزا اور ذوالنوں بیگ مل گئے اور یہ سب مل کر سلطان حسین مرزا کے پاس ہری پہنچے۔ اس نے ان سب کو سر آنکھوں پر بٹھایا اور بڑی خاطر و مدارات کی۔ کچھ عرصہ بعد خسرو شاہ نے پھر اپنے ملک پر فوج کشی کی تیاریاں کیں اور سلطان حسین مرزا سے اجازت لے کر چار پانچ سو ساتھیوں کے ساتھ قندز کی طرف روانہ ہوا۔ راستہ میں ناصر مرزا سے ملاقات ہوئی۔ وہ بدخشاں پر حملہ کرنے جا رہا تھا۔ وہاں کے باشندوں نے اپنے ازبک حکمرانوں کو مارڈالا تھا۔ اور ناصر مرزا کو بدخشاں کے تاج و تخت کی دعوت دی تھی۔ خسرو شاہ نے چاہا کہ ناصر کے ساتھ وہ بھی بدخشاں جائے لیکن ناصر اس کو اپنے لئے مضر سمجھتا تھا۔ اس کشمکش نے اشکمنش کے مقام کو میدان جنگ بنا ہی دیا تھا کہ عقل و تدبیر صلح و صفائی کرائی۔ اور ان دونوں نے اپنا اپنا راستہ لیا۔ خسرو شاہ کو کچھ اور نئے ساتھی مل گئے اور وہ ایک ہزار آدمیوں کے ساتھ قندز سے ایک فرسنگ دور خواجہ چار طاق میں جا اترا۔ اس وقت قندز میں محمد شیبانی خاں کی طرف سے قنبر علی حاکم تھا۔ خسرو شاہ کے پہنچتے ہی اس کے ہاتھ پاؤں پھول گئے۔ اس نے حمزہ سلطان کے پاس پے درپے آدمی بھیجے کہ خدا کے لئے منجھے آکر بیچاؤ۔ حمزہ سلطان اس وقت محمد شیبانی خاں کی طرف سے حصار کا محاصرہ کئے پڑا تھا۔ وہ قنبر علی کی مدد کو دوڑا۔ اس تازہ کمک کے پہنچ جانے سے جنگ کا نقشہ بدل گیا۔ اور خسرو شاہ کی فوج گھیرے میں گھر گئی۔ اور یہ گھیرا تنگ ہوتے ہوتے خسرو شاہ کے ائے موت کا

پھندا بن گیا۔ احمد قاسم، شیرم چہرہ اور دوسرے امرا کے ساتھ خسرو شاہ بھی گرفتار ہوا۔ اور اس کا سر کاٹ کر شیبانی خاں کے پاس خوارزم بھیج دیا گیا۔

خسرو شاہ کی تباہی پر بابر نے بڑی مسرت ظاہر کی ہے۔ لیکن تاریخ گواہ ہے کہ خسرو کی تباہی و بربادی بالواسطہ طور پر خود بابر کی تباہی و بربادی کا بیغام بن گئی۔ محمد شیبانی خاں جیسا زبردست حریف جس کو اس سے پہلے بیک وقت بابر اور خسرو شاہ جیسے دشمنوں سے علحدہ علحدہ نمٹنا پڑتا تھا۔ خسرو شاہ کے قتل کے بعد پورے زور شور سے بابر کو تباہ کرنے پر تل گیا۔ اور اس نے اس قدر نمایاں کامیابی حاصل کی کہ بابر کا وطن میں رہنا اجیرن بنا دیا۔ اسے منہ چھپا کر ہندوستان بھاگتے بنی اور اس ملک پر جو بابر کا ملک تھا، اور جہاں اس کے اسلاف نے مدتوں فرمان روائی کی تھی، ڈیڑھ سو برس تک سلطنت شیبانیہ کا جھنڈا لہراتا رہا۔ بابر محمد شیبانی خاں کی طاقت کے سامنے اپنی کس مہر سی کی داستان خود لکھتا ہے۔

”میں نے امراء سے مشورہ کیا کہ ازبک جیسی قوم اور شیبانی خاں جیسا گھاگ دشمن ہے جو ملک امیر تیمور کی اولاد کے قبضہ میں تھے، وہ اس نے لے لئے۔ نرکوں اور چغتائیہ خاندان میں سے جو جہاں تھا کوئی خوشی سے اور کوئی مجبور ہو کر اس سے مل گیا۔ صرف ایک میں کابل میں آپڑا تھا۔ دشمن طاقتور میں ضعیف نہ صلح کی امید نہ مقابلہ کی تاب، ایسی حالت میں اپنے لئے کوئی اور مقام تلاش کرنا چاہئے۔ ایسے میں موقع ہے اور وقت ہے، جو کریں کر سکتے ہیں، اور دشمن سے دور ہو سکتے ہیں۔ ہندوستان یا بدخشان کی طرف چل نکلو، ان دونوں میں سے کسی ایک کو چننا ہے، قاسم بیگ اور شیرم طغائی وغیرہ نے بدخشان چلنے کی رائے دی۔ لیکن اور امراء نے ہندوستان کو پسند کیا۔“

یہ بات اپنی جگہ صحیح ہے کہ بابر کے ہندوستان کے آنے کا سبب سلطنت مغلیہ کی بنیاد پڑی لیکن اسی کے ساتھ یہ بات بھی صحیح ہے کہ بابر

کو پھر اپنے وطن میں پہنچ کر شیبانی خان سے مقابلہ کی ہمت نہ ہوئی۔ جس ڈر اور خوف کے سبب بابر کو ہندوستان کی طرف بھاگنا پڑا وہ دہشت خسرو کی کامیاب زندگی میں شاید اتنی اندیشہ ناک نہ ہوتی، کیوں کہ خسرو کی وسیع اور عظیم تر سلطنت ان دو بڑی طاقتوں کے درمیان بفرسسٹیٹ جیسی حیثیت رکھتی تھی۔ خسرو کی موجودگی میں محمد شیبانی خان کسی طرح اپنی پوری طاقت بابر کو کچلنے میں صرف نہیں کر سکتا تھا۔ اس لئے یہ کہنا بجا ہے کہ خسرو جب گرا تو بابر اور شاہان چغتائیہ کی اس عظمت اور سطوت کو ساتھ لے گرا۔ جس کے ڈنکے عرصہ دراز سے ماوراء النہر میں بج رہے تھے۔ اور یہ کہنا بھی صحیح ہے کہ خسرو شاہ کا خاتمہ ماوراء النہر میں بابری عظمت کا خاتمہ تھا۔ اس کا دنیا سے منہ موڑنا تھا کہ بابر کو اپنے وطن سے منہ موڑنا پڑا۔ وہ کیا قتل ہوا۔ بابر کو بے وطن کر گیا۔

عہد بنی امیہ میں علوم و فنون کا زریں دور

مفتی انتظام اللہ شہابی۔ اکبر آبادی

خلفائے راشدین کے بعد دولت اسلامیہ کے علمبردار شاہان بنی امیہ تھے۔ شاہان عالم کے مقابلہ میں دیکھا جائے تو ان کا درجہ در حقیقت بہت بلند نظر آتا ہے۔ مگر ہمارے مورخین نے جب کبھی ان کا مقابلہ کیا ”خلافت راشدہ“ کے ساتھ کیا مگر یہ تاریخی حقیقت ہے کہ خلفائے بنی امیہ شہنشاہ تھے، صحیح معنی میں خلفائے راشدین کے جانشین نہ تھے، اس کے ساتھ ہی مورخ یہ لکھنے پر مجبور ہے کہ ان کی فاتحانہ سرگرمیاں اور ان کا عدل و انصاف قیصرہ روم و شاہان عجم سے بہت بڑھا ہوا تھا۔ اس کے علاوہ بنی امیہ عربوں کی جملہ خصوصیات کے حامل رہے اور انہوں نے اپنے قومی شعار کو بڑی حد تک برقرار رکھا۔ بقول علامہ ابن خلدون ”ان میں عربی عصبیت پوری طرح موجود تھی“، حتیٰ کہ بنی امیہ کا پایۂ تخت دمشق (شام) رومیوں کا ملک تھا۔ مگر انہوں نے ان کے تمدن و تہذیب کا اثر نہ لیا، بلکہ اپنا اثر ضرور ڈالا۔ البتہ بنو عباس عجمی تمدن سے اثر پذیر ہو گئے۔ جاحظ نے اپنی ایک تصنیف میں لکھا ہے ”کہ خلافت امویہ عربی حکومت تھی اور خلافت عباسیہ عجمی“،

خلفائے اموی کے دور میں فتوحات کو جس قدر وسعت حاصل ہوئی، اسلام کی تاریخ میں اسکی نظیر نہیں ملتی۔ خلافت راشدہ میں اگرچہ اسلام کی فتوحات کا دائرہ بہت وسیع ہو چکا تھا تاہم مجاہدین کرام کا قدم حدود عرب، دیار شام اور مصر و ایران سے آگے نہ بڑھ سکا۔ لیکن بنی امیہ کے دور میں شمالی افریقہ، سندھ، خراسان، توران، طبرستان، جرجان، سبستان، افغانستان وغیرہ سبھی اسلام کے زیر نگین آ گئے اور بحر و بر پر ان کا کوئی مد مقابل نہ رہا۔ اگر وہ خانہ جنگی میں نہ الجھتے تو کیا عجب کہ تمام ربع مسکون پر ان کا تسلط قائم ہو جاتا۔

مورخ لیبان تمدن عرب میں لکھتا ہے ”کہ جس طرح عرب تھوڑے عرصہ میں ملک کے بڑے حصہ پر متصرف ہو گئے اسی طرح وہ علوم و فنون پر بھی چھا گئے تھے“، ”بلکہ ایک صدی کے اندر تہذیب و تمدن عدل و انصاف کے ساتھ علم و ہنر کی پرورش اور ترویج عرب قوم کا جزو لاینفک بن گئی تھی۔“

اس مقالہ میں صرف بنو امیہ کے علمی کارنامے اور ان کے عہد میں جس قدر علوم و فنون کو ترقی ہوئی، اس کا ذکر کیا جائے گا۔

قرآن مجید: خلفائے راشدین کے عہد میں قرآن مجید کی بڑی اشاعت ہوئی۔ جہاں جہاں اسلام پھیلا اس کے نسخے پہنچے۔ بنی امیہ کے عہد میں قرآن مجید پر اعراب لگائے گئے۔ عبدالملک بن مروان کے گورنر عراق حجاج یوسف ثقفی<sup>1</sup> نے ابوالاسود الہولی سے جو قاضی کوفہ اور جلیل القدر تابعی تھے<sup>2</sup> قرآن مجید پر امتیازی نقاط اور تحریری عبارتوں کے ساتھ اعراب لگوا کر اس کی اشاعت تمام ممالک اسلامیہ میں<sup>3</sup> کی بعض مورخ زیاد ابن ابی سفیان کا زمانہ لکھتے ہیں۔

حفظ قرآن: بنو امیہ کے عہد میں قرآن مجید کے حفظ کرنے کا بطور خاص انتظام تھا۔ خلیفہ ولید لوگوں کو ہمیشہ حفظ قرآن کی ہدایت کرتا تھا۔ حفاظ کو فیاضانہ صلے عطا کرتا تھا اور جو لوگ قرآن حفظ نہیں کرتے تھے ان کو سزا دیتا<sup>4</sup> اس کا یہ نتیجہ ہوا کہ گورنروں نے اپنے اپنے علاقوں میں سختی کے ساتھ حفظ قرآن کا اہتمام کیا تھا۔ اسلامی افواج کا سپہ سالار اعظم موسیٰ بن نصیر نخعی جب افریقہ کا والی بنایا گیا تو ایک طرف وہ فتوحات میں سرگرم تھا اور دوسری طرف اسلام کی تبلیغ پیش نظر تھی اس نے ہی بربروں میں حفظ قرآن کا ذوق پیدا کر دیا تھا۔ اپنی طرف

<sup>1</sup> ابن خلدون تذکرہ حجاج

<sup>2</sup> البدیہ والنہایہ الجزء الثامن ص ۳۱۲

<sup>3</sup> مقد الفرید (اخبار ولید)

<sup>4</sup> تاریخ مضر ب اقصاء

سے شہروں پر حفاظ عامل مقرر کرتا تھا جب اندلس فتح کیا تو اس نے وہاں بھی اپنے لڑکے عبدالعزیز کو والی مقرر کر کے قرآن کی تعلیم کی خاص ہدایت کی ۔

علم تفسیر: فن تفسیر پہلے پہل عہد بنو امیہ میں مدون ہوا۔ اس زمانہ میں اکابر مفسرین پیدا ہوئے، امام المفرین حضرت عبداللہ بن عباس رضہ کے شاگرد مروہ ہمدانی متوفی سنہ ۷۶ھ اور ابوالعالیہ متوفی سنہ ۹۵ھ مفسر قرآن تھے۔ اور سعید بن جبیرا سدی کوفی متوفی سنہ ۵۹۰ھ نے عبدالملک بن مروان کے زمانہ میں تفسیر القرآن مرتب کی جو آگے چل کر عطاء بن دینار کے نام سے مشہور ہوئی۔ مصری عالم اپنی تالیف فجر الاسلام میں حضرت مجاہد کو جو حضرت عبداللہ بن عباس کے ارشد تلامذہ و اصحاب میں سے تھے جلیل الشان معتمد وثقہ اور کبیر تابعی بتایا ہے اور لکھا ہے کہ اس بناء پر امام شافعی نے کتاب الام میں اور امام بخاری نے اپنی صحیح میں زیادہ تر ان سے روایت نقل کی ہیں۔ ان کا انتقال سنہ ۱۰۲ھ میں ہوا۔ پروفیسر احمد انیس کا خیال ہے کہ پہلی تفسیر مجاہد کی ہے۔ ملاکاتب چلبی نے کنف الظنون میں ۳۱۴-۳۱۵ پر اس تفسیر مجاہد کا ذکر کیا ہے۔ مگر تاریخی طور پر اس خیال کی تصدیق نہیں ہوتی۔ اسی دور کے دوسرے مفسر محمد بن سعد بن محمد بن حسن عوفی ہیں جو حضرت ابن عباس رضہ سے روایت کرتے ہیں ان سے تفسیر عوفی منسوب ہے<sup>7</sup>

تفسیر حسن بصری متوفی سنہ ۱۱۰ھ تفسیر یزید بن ہارون سلمی تابعی متوفی سنہ ۱۱۱ھ۔ تفسیر قتادہ بن دعامہ یعنی ابن اسدوسی۔ عطاء بن ابی رباح متوفی سنہ ۱۱۴ھ۔ تفسیر عطاء بن دینار سنہ ۱۲۶ھ 8 تفسیر اسماعیل سدی کبیر متوفی سنہ ۱۲۷ھ۔ تفسیر عطاء بن ابی مسلم الخراسانی متوفی سنہ ۱۳۵ھ تفسیر زید بن اسلم العدوی المدنی سنہ ۱۲۶ھ یہ سب کی سب تفسیریں اسوی عہد میں مرتب ہوئیں۔ آگے چل کر جو تفاسیر لکھی گئیں انہیں انکی اساس کہی جاسکتی ہے۔

5 خلافت ہسپانیہ ۲۵۵

6 میزان الاعتدال ذہبی

7 تعلی ۳۱۲

تدوین حدیث : علم حدیث کی تدوین و تالیف کا شرف صحیح معنی میں بھی عہد بنی امیہ کو حاصل ہے۔ سعید بن جبیر مذکور کی تفسیر کے علاوہ ان کا ایک مجموعہ حدیث بھی تھا<sup>1</sup> امام شہاب زہری سے عبدالملک بن مروان نے اپنے لڑکے کی تعلیم کے لئے ایک مجموعہ حدیث تیار کرایا<sup>2</sup> جب حضرت عمر بن عبدالعزیز سریر آرائے خلافت ہوئے تو انہوں نے امام شہاب زہری کو احادیث کے جمع کرنے کا حکم دیا۔ مغازی میں خود ایک کتاب تالیف کی۔ اس کے علاوہ ابوبکر بن محمد بن عمر بن حزم کو لکھا کہ رسول اللہ صلعم کی جو حدیث اور سنت آپ کو ملے، اس کو لکھ لیجئے، میں ڈرتا ہوں کہ کہیں علم حدیث<sup>3</sup> مٹ نہ جائے۔ اور علماء فنا نہ ہو جائیں۔ اور آپس میں مجالست کرو تا کہ جو شخص نہیں جانتا وہ بھی جان جائے<sup>4</sup> علامہ بن عبدالبر جامع بیان العلم میں لکھتے ہیں کہ سعد بن ابراہیم محدث قاضی مدینہ کہتے تھے کہ عمر بن عبدالعزیز نے جہاں جہاں ان کی حکومت تھی ایک ایک دفتر بھیج دیا<sup>4</sup> ابو بکر بن حزم نے جب رسول اکرم کی سنتیں جمع کر کے عمر کے پاس روانہ کیں۔ وہ انتقال کر چکے تھے<sup>5</sup> طبقات ابن سعد بنی ہے کہ موسیٰ بن عقبہ نے بیان کیا کہ ہمارے پاس حضرت عبداللہ بن عباس رضہ کے مولیٰ کریب نے ابن عباس کی کتابیں رکھوائی تھیں جو ایک بار شتر تھیں<sup>6</sup> ولید بن یزید کے قتل کے بعد جب احادیث و روایات کا دفتر ولید کے کتب خانہ سے منتقل ہوا تو صرف شہاب زہری کی مرویات اور تالیفات گھوڑوں اور گدھوں پر لاد کر لائی گئیں<sup>7</sup> امام ابو عمر بن العلاء عہد بنی امیہ کے نامور امیر اور اہل علم سے تھے، ان کا قیام بصرہ میں تھا الیافعی نے لکھا ہے کہ ابو عمر بن العلاء نے فصحاء عرب کی جن چیزوں کو

1 مسند دارسی باب من رخص فی کتاب العلم

2 تہذیب الاسماء جلد ۱ ص ۹۱

3 بخاری کتاب العلم کیف یقبض العم

4 زرقانی ص ۱ . سطر ۹

5 تذکرۃ الحفاظ ص ۶۰۰

6 طبقات ابن سعد جلد ۵ ص ۶۱۶

7 خلافت ہسپانیہ ص ۲۵

لکھکر جمع کیا تھا ان کی کتابوں سے چھت تک کمرہ بھرا ہوا تھا ابو قلابہ متوفی سنہ ۱۰۳ھ کے یہاں بھی علمی سرمایہ بہت تھا۔ الذہبی لکھتے ہیں کہ جب ابو قلابہ کا انتقال ہوا تو وفات سے بیستران کتابوں کے متعلق انہوں نے وصیت کی تھی کہ ایوب سحنتیانی کے سپرد کردی جائیں۔ کتابیں جب ایوب کے پاس آئیں تو ایک اونٹ کا نصف بار تھیں<sup>9</sup>

مجموعہ احادیث: عہد بنی امیہ میں حدیث کے مجموعہ کثرت سے تیار ہوئے۔ ۱۔ مجموعہ احادیث ابو قلابہ تابعی<sup>2</sup> مجموعہ احادیث بشیر بن نہک صنعانی<sup>3</sup> مجموعہ احادیث خلا بن مقدان نامی کلاعی<sup>4</sup> مجموعہ احادیث رجا بن حیاة فلسطینی تابعی<sup>5</sup> مجموعہ احادیث عبدالرحمن نبیرہ حضرت عبداللہ بن مسعود<sup>6</sup> مجموعہ احادیث جابر بن عبداللہ<sup>7</sup> سلیمان بن قیس<sup>8</sup> صالح بن کیسان جامع سنن رسول<sup>9</sup> وھب بن منبہ کامل الیمانی صنعانی<sup>10</sup> خلاص بن عمرو والنجرى البصری متوفی سنہ ۱۱۵ھ جابر بن عبداللہ کی روایتوں کا مجموعہ وھب تابعی مذکور نے تیار کیا تھا جو اسماعیل بن عبدالکریم کے پاس تھا۔<sup>11</sup> روایات ابی ہریرہ کا مجموعہ ہمام بن منبہ نے نیا کیا تھا جو صحیفہ ہمام کے نام سے تھا۔

تدوین حدیث کی انواع مختلفہ کے اولین مصنفین میں قریباً چالیس یا بیالیس دیگر علمائے تابعین کے نام نامی بھی لئے جاسکتے ہیں جو اولین مصنف یا مدون شمار ہوتے ہیں لیکن اس وقت ان سب قدیم نوشتوں اور کتابوں میں سے کچھ باقی نہیں موطاء جو بہت بعد کی تالیف ہے احادیث کا قدیم ترین محفوظ مجموعہ ہے مگر بعد میں جس قدر مناسبت مرتب ہوئیں ان میں ان ابتدائی مجموعہ کے آثار ظاہر ہیں۔

<sup>8</sup> الیافعی جلد ۱ ص ۲۲۵ مرتبہ انتظام اللہ شہابی

<sup>9</sup> تذکرۃ الحفاظ للذہبی جلد ۱ ص ۱۸

<sup>1</sup> مسند ج ۱ ص ۸۴ <sup>2</sup> تہذیب ج ۱ ص ۲۱۳ <sup>4</sup> تذکرۃ الحفاظ ص ۱۹۰

<sup>5</sup> تذکرۃ الحفاظ ص ۱۹۸ <sup>6</sup> ۷۔ تدوین حدیث انتظام اللہ شہابی ص ۲۴۸ <sup>8</sup> ابن سعد ج

۱۹۸ <sup>9</sup> مقدمہ کشف الفتنون ص ۲۶ <sup>10</sup> تہذیب ج ۶ ص ۲۱۲ <sup>11</sup> مسند امام بن

حبلی۔



فقہ : اجلہ تابعین میں امام شعبی، طاؤس بن کیسان، سعید بن جبیر، سعید بن المسیب، امام ابراہیم نخعی، حسن بصری، مکحول دمشقی، جیسے فقہا بنو امیہ کے عہد میں گزرے ہیں، ان ہی کی سعی سے اسلامی فقہ و احکام اور صحابہ کرام کے فتاویٰ و قضایا محفوظ رہے۔ اسلامی تشریع کی تاسیس ان ہی بزرگوں نے شروع کی۔ امام ابراہیم نخعی کو<sup>1</sup> متوفی سنہ ۵۹۵ھ جن کی تربیت علمی اصحاب عبداللہ بن مسعود کے دامن عاطفت میں ہوئی۔ ان کے فتاویٰ و قضایا اور فقہ و حدیث کا بیش بہا گنجینہ انہوں نے اپنے دل و دماغ میں محفوظ کیا تھا اور جب تدوین کتب کا دور آیا تو یہی خزانہ صفحہ قرطاس پر فقہ حنفی کے نام سے عام ہو گیا۔ امام نخعی کی علمی جلالت و برتری مسلم ہے۔ چنانچہ سید القراء طلحہ بن مصرف کہتے ہیں کہ ”ما بأكوفه الحجب الی من ابراہیم و خثیمہ“، کوفہ میں میرے نزدیک ابراہیم اور خثیمہ سے بڑھ کر کوئی نہیں۔ فقہ کی تدوین و ابتدائی ترتیب امام نخعی کے دور میں شروع ہوئی۔ مدینہ میں سعید بن المسیب اور کوفہ میں امام نخعی نے اس کام کو انجام دیا۔ ان کے پاس حضرت علی کرم اللہ وجہہ حضرت عبداللہ بن مسعود انکے اصحاب اور کوفہ کے فقہاء و قضاة کے فتاویٰ قضایا اور فقہی اقوال تھے جن کو ان ہی نے مرتب کیا پہلے یہ لکھتے نہ تھے اور کتاب کو پسند نہ کرتے تھے۔ پھر کتابوں کی تحسین کرنے لگے۔

ابراہیم سے منقول ہے کہ وہ کتابوں کو ناپسند کرتے تھے، پھر انہوں نے ان کی تحسین کی۔ حماد نے کہا کہ اس کے بعد میں نے ابراہیم کو لکھتے دیکھا<sup>2</sup>۔ غرض کہ فقہ کی تدوین کا آغاز بھی عہد بنو امیہ سے ہوا۔

اصول لغت : عہد بنو امیہ میں اصول لغت کی تدوین ہوئی۔ ابواسود دؤلی نے زیاد بن امیہ سے اجازت لے کر نحو کے قواعد وضع کئے۔ ان سے

<sup>1</sup> طبقات ابن سعد ج ۶ ص ۲۸۸ و فیات ج ۱ ص ۳ کتاب المعارف لابن

قتیبہ ص ۲۳۵

<sup>2</sup> کتاب الآثار ص ۱۲۰

<sup>3</sup> الفہرست ابن ندیم ص ۶۱

عقبہ بن مہران المبری نے اس کی تعلیم حاصل کی اس سلسلے کی کڑی سے خلیل منسلک تھے -

تاریخ : امیر معاویہ کے زمانہ سے ہی تاریخ کی ترتیب کا سلسلہ شروع ہو گیا تھا - بنو امیہ جن کے زمانہ میں سیرو مغازی کے بڑے بڑے علماء و ائمہ مثلاً وہب بن منبہ محمد بن مسلم الزہری موسیٰ بن عقبہ اور عوانہ تھے، جو اس فن کے متعلق کتابوں کی تدوین و تالیف میں مصروف تھے -

خلفائے بنو امیہ کو فن تاریخ کے ساتھ خود نہایت شغف تھا :-

علامہ مسعودی نے مروج الذهب میں لکھا ہے کہ امیر معاویہ ہمیشہ نماز عشاء کے بعد تاریخی واقعات سنتے۔ جب رات کا ثلث حصہ گزر جاتا تو سو جاتے جب آنکھ کھل جاتی پھر یہی مشغلہ شروع ہو جاتا۔ متعدد طلباء تاریخی واقعات کے اوراق لیکر آتے اور امیر معاویہ کو سناتے۔ مگر امیر کو اس سے بھی سیری نہ ہوئی تو یمن سے ایک عالم کو جس کا نام عبید بن شریہ تھا طلب کیا اور اس سے بہت سے تاریخی واقعات سننے اور ان واقعات کو ایک کتابی شکل میں جمع کرنے کا حکم دیا۔ چنانچہ صحاء یہی کتاب اخبار الماضی کے نام سے شہرت رکھتی ہے۔ العبدی نے امیر معاویہ کے لئے کتاب الامثال لکھی<sup>1</sup> اور کتاب الملوک لکھی<sup>2</sup> عبدالملک بن مروان نے عاش بن عبید بن شریہ سے ان کتابوں میں اضافہ کرایا۔ هشام کی تشویق و ترغیب سے عربی لٹریچر میں اور بھی مفید و تاریخی تصنیفات کا اضافہ ہوا۔ چنانچہ ابو جبلہ نے اس کے لئے ایران کی بعض تاریخوں کا ترجمہ فارسی سے عربی میں کیا۔ اور دیگر مترجمین کے ذریعہ سے بھی کتاب تاریخ ملوک الفرس کا ترجمہ کرایا۔ جس میں سلطنت فارس کے قوانین اور مشاہیر ایران کے حالات تھے<sup>3</sup> عبدالملک بن محمد بن ابی بکر

<sup>4</sup> ابن خلکان ج ۳۸۰ ص

<sup>1</sup> فہرست ابن ندیم ۱۲۲ ص

<sup>2</sup> کتاب التنبیہ والاشراف ۱۰۶ ص

<sup>3</sup> الفہرست ص ۳۹

بن عمر بن حزم الازہاری نے عہد بنی امیہ میں کتاب المغازی لکھی تھی، جو ہارون رشید کے زمانہ میں اسکو نذر کی گئی۔

یونانی علوم و فنون کے تراجم : خالد بن یزید امیر معاویہ کا پوتا تھا۔ کنیت اس کی ابوہاشم تھی۔ اس کو حکومت سے لگاؤ نہ تھا۔ اپنے باپ یزید سے سخت بیزار۔ اس نے اپنی توجہ زیادہ تر علوم دینی کے حاصل کرنے میں لگا رکھی تھی۔ اس کے شیخ الحدیث حضرت وحیہ تھے حضرت رجاء بن حیاء اور امام شہاب زہری جیسے جلیل القدر محدث اس کے شاگرد تھے۔ ابن ندیم نے الفہرست میں لکھا ہے۔ ”خالد بن یزید خطیب اور شاعر تھا، اس کے لئے اولاً کتب طب اور نجوم اور رسائل کیمیا کے ترجمہ ہوئے<sup>1</sup> ابن خلکان لکھتا ہے : ”خالد نے چند مصری علمائے طب کو بلا کر اپنے پاس رکھا۔ انہوں نے دمشق میں رہ کر علمی کتابوں کے ترجمہ کئے۔ ان علماء میں ایک پادری مر یا نوس تھا۔ جس نے خالد کو علم کیمیا کی تعلیم دی اور خالد کے لئے حکیم اصطفان نے اس فن کی کتب کو عربی میں منتقل کیا<sup>2</sup> خالد نے ایک معمل (لیوہری) قائم کی اور علماء ملازم رکھے الاثار الباقیہ میں ہے : ”خالد نے ایک معمل قائم کیا جہاں اپنے کیمیائی تجربات کے نتائج معلوم کر کے چند رسائل میں محفوظ کر دئے۔“ خالد کو طب میں کامل دستگاہ تھی۔ فن کیمسٹری (کیمیا) کا بانی خالد کہتا جاتا ہے۔ محقق البیرونی نے خالد کو اسلام کا سب سے پہلا حکیم (فلسفی) قرار دیا ہے<sup>3</sup> صاحب کشف الظنون نے لکھا ہے کہ جابر بن حیان صوفی خالد کا شاگرد تھا<sup>4</sup> خالد نے سنہ ۸۵ میں انتقال کیا۔

علم طب : امیر معاویہ کے عہد میں ابن آثال نے امیر کے لئے یونانی زبان سے طب کی متعدد کتابیں عربی میں ترجمہ کیں، اور یہ پہلا ترجمہ تھا جو اسلامی دور حکومت میں کیا گیا۔ مروان بن الحکم کے زمانہ ماسرجویہ

1 ابن خلکان ج ۲ ص ۱۲۸

2 آثار الباقیہ ص ۳۰۳

3 کشف الظنون ص ۳۴۱

4 کتاب الاغانی ج ۱ ص ۴۴۴

نے سریانی زبان سے عربی میں ایک طب کی، کتاب کا ترجمہ کیا۔ یہی کتاب تھی جس کو عمر بن عبدالعزیز رحمہ اللہ نے شام کے کتب خانہ میں پایا۔ اور ممالک محروسہ میں اس کے مختلف نسخے تقسیم کرائے<sup>1</sup> ہشام کے زمانہ میں ایرانی تاریخ کے علاوہ بعض یونانی کتابوں کا ترجمہ بھی ہوا۔ چنانچہ ابو جبیلہ نے ارسطو کے ان خطوط کا ترجمہ کیا جو اس نے سکندر مقدونی کو لکھے تھے۔ غرضکہ اموی عہد میں دوسری السنہ سے عربی میں کثرت سے کتابوں کے ترجمہ ہوئے۔

سُورِ شاعری : اس عہد میں شاعری میں عربی نے بھی فروغ پایا اور اس عہد کے کلام میں بلند اور نازک تخیلات سے ایک عجیب قسم کی لطافت لچک اور سلاست پیدا ہو گئی۔ جریر۔ فرزدق<sup>2</sup> اخطل وغیرہ نے اموی خلفاء کے دربار میں تربیت پائی تھی۔ ادب کی کتابوں میں یہ تمام ذخیرہ محفوظ ہے۔

ہم نے اجمالاً عہد بنو امیہ کی علمی برقی کا ذکر کیا ہے۔ ورنہ اب تک مورخین نے خلفائے بنی امیہ کے مثالب پر زیادہ نگاہ رکھی اور محاسن پر توجہ کم کی۔ یہی وجہ ہے کہ ان کے علمی کارنامے نظر سے اوجھل رہے، مگر ہم نے جو مختصر طور سے بنی امیہ کا دور علمی پیس کیا ہے وہ شاندار نظر آتا ہے اور اس کے بعض علمی آثار آج بھی باقی ہیں جیسے قرآن کے اعراب وغیرہ جس سے انکار نہیں کیا جاسکتا۔ اب موسیو لیبان کی تحریر پر یہ مقالہ ختم کیا جاتا ہے وہ لکھتا ہے کہ :- ”خلفائے بنی امیہ کے زمانہ میں شام کا تمدن ایک اعلیٰ درجہ پر پہنچ گیا۔ شام کے تمام بڑے شہر بیت المقدس، صیدا، دمشق، ہور بہت ہی سرسبز ہو گئے اور حرفت اور فلاحت نے انہیں ترقی کی..... عربوں کو علوم یونان و روم کا ایسا ہی جوش پیدا ہو گیا جیسا کہ انہیں لڑنے کا جوش تھا۔ ہر طرف مدارس کثرت سے قائم ہو گئے اور چند روز میں شاگرد استادوں کا مقابلہ کرنے لگے اور علوم و

<sup>1</sup> مختصر ولولہ ص ۱۹۲

<sup>2</sup> البدایہ و النہایہ الجز الثانی ص ۲۶۵

<sup>3</sup> تمدن عرب ص ۱۴۹

شاعری و صنعت میں ترقی نمایاں ہونے لگی اور دمشق جو ان کا دارالسلطنت تھا مرکزی شہر تجارت بن گیا۔ یہاں کی علمی اور حرفتی ترقی کی شہرت دور دور تھی۔ طبی مدرسہ قصور شاہی تمام عالم میں مشہور و معروف ہوئے۔

یہ تھی عہد بنی امیہ کی ترقی تمدنی علمی ترقی جس کی طرف سے مورخین چشم پوشی کرتے رہے ہیں۔

## تاریخ کلام اللہ

نمید

علم مادی میں جس طرح کتکمس حیات کے مدارج ارتقا میں انتخاب طبعی کا ایک قانون تسلیم کیا جاتا ہے اسی طرح عالم غیب میں جس کا آغاز بوتیدہ فوتوں کے جوہروں سے شروع ہوتا ہے معارج روحانیہ میں عمل اصطلاحی کا جلوہ نظر آتا ہے اور اسرف المخلوقات میں وہ بزرگ ہستیاں چن لی جاتی ہیں جو حقیقتاً اسرف و اعلیٰ ہوتی ہیں۔ یہی مطلب ہے ان آیات پاک کا :-

ان الله اصطفى آدم و نوحا و آل ابراهيم و آل عمران على العالمين  
(سورہ آل عمران)

(ترجمہ) اللہ نے برگزیدہ کیا آدم کو اور نوح کو اور ابراہیم کی آل کو اور عمران کی آل کو عالموں پر -

حضرت آدم جس طرح ابوالبسر ہیں، حضرت نوح جس طرح نسل انسانی کی کشتی 'نمدن' کے ناخدائے اول ہیں اسی طرح حضرت ابراہیم ابوالانبیاء ہیں۔ موجودہ دنیا کی دو تہائی آبادی میں یہود نصاریٰ اور مسلمان شامل ہیں۔ ان سب کے ہادیوں کے مورث اعلیٰ حضرت ابراہیم ہیں۔ ان انبیائے کرام پر جو صحیفے اور کتابیں نازل ہوئیں ان میں بہت سی دست برد زمانہ سے ضائع ہو گئیں اور جو موجود ہیں ان میں کہیں صرف اضافہ ہے اور کہیں مسخ و تحریف، جن کو علمائے یورپ نے بھی قائل ہو کر تسلیم کر لیا ہے۔

آسانی صحیفوں کی بربادی :- حضرت سلیمان کا زمانہ ایک ہزار سال قبل مسیح، سلطنت یہود کا عہد زریں تھا۔ لیکن آپ کی آنکھ بند ہوتے ہی ہی اسرائیل میں بفرقہ پڑ گیا۔ منجملہ بارہ قبائل کے دس نے حضرت سلیمان کے بیٹے سے بغاوت کر کے اپنی سلطنت الگ قائم کر لی، جس کا پائے تخت ساریہ تھا۔ ان قبائل نے سونے کے بچھڑوں کی پرستش شروع کر دی، اور دین

یہود سے جس کا مرکز بیت المقدس تھا ، مرتد ہو گئے ، آخر سنہ ۲۲ء ق م میں ڈھائی سو برس حکومت کر کے اسیریا والوں کے ہاتھوں تباہ ہو گئے ۔ شاہ نینوا آن کو پکڑ کر لے گیا ، جہاں بہت سے مر گئے ، اور باقی بت پرستوں میں جذب ہو گئے ، اور اپنی جدا گانہ قومیت کھو بیٹھے اور سارٹن مشہور ہوئے ۔

بنی اسرائیل کے باقی دو قبیلے حضرت سلیمان کے بیٹے کے مطیع رہے اور چار سو برس تک سلطنت یہودیہ پر قابض رہے ۔ آخر بخت نصر شاہ بابل نے ان پر حملہ کر کے سلطنت یہود کو غارت کر دیا ۔ مقدس صحیفے اور تبرکات حضرت موسیٰ و ہارون جو ہیکل سلیمانی میں محفوظ تھے ان سب کو جلا کر خاک سیاہ کر دیا اور جس قدر بنی اسرائیل قتل سے بچے ان سب کو گرفتار کر کے بابل لے گیا ۔ لیکن بیچاس برس کے بعد جب کیانی شاہ عجم نے بابل فتح کیا تو شاہ داریوس نے بنی اسرائیل کو آزاد کر کے تعمیر بیت المقدس کی اجازت دی ۔ تب عزرا کا تب نے نعمیا بنی کے ساتھ مل کر توریت کی پانچ ابتدائی کتابیں اور صحف انبیاء کو لکھ کر سب حلقوں میں احتیاط سے رکھ دیا ۔ لیکن سنہ ۶۸ ق م میں سکندر کے جانشینوں میں ایک یونانی بادشاہ انطاکیہ نے بیت المقدس کو پھر مسمار کر دیا اور اس کی جگہ اپنے دیوتا رئیس کا مندر بنا دیا ۔ کتب مقدسہ پھر جلادی گئیں ، اور شعار یہود یعنی قربانی و ختنہ کی ممانعت کر کے ان کو بت پرستوں میں جذب کرنے کی تدبیر کی گئی تاکہ ان کی جدا گانہ قومیت کا خاتمہ ہو جائے ۔ لیکن یہود میں بہت جلد رد عمل شروع ہوا ۔ یہودا مکی اور اس کے جانباز بھائیوں نے جہاد کر کے بت پرستوں کو شکست عظیم دے کر بیت المقدس کو پھر آباد کیا ۔ اور مقدس صحیفوں کو پھر یک جا کیا ۔ مگر اب فرقہ بندیوں شروع ہو گئیں ، اور باہمی تکفیر کا دروازہ کھل گیا رہین اور احبار کے اقوال بمنزل وحی سمجھے جانے لگے ۔ انبیاء کا خون ہونے لگا ۔ اور صدوقی ، اور فریسی دو بڑے فرقے رسوم ظاہر میں بال کی کھال نکالنے لگے اور روحانیت سلب ہو گئی ۔ حضرت مسیح کی بعثت اسی زمانہ میں ہوئی ۔ مگر قاتلین انبیاء کے قلوب مردہ ہی رہے ۔ آخر اسرائیلی جگہ پر ، گرگ رور ، غضب الہی کی شکل میں نازل ہوا ۔ اور سنہ ۷۰ء میں طیطوس رومی نے بیت المقدس کی اینٹ سے اینٹ بجادی ۔ مقدس

صحیفوں کو حرم سے نکال کر بطور یادگار فتح روما لیے گیا۔ یہود جلا وطن کر دیئے گئے۔ مگر سنہ ۱۳۴ء میں قصر ہڈرن کے زمانے میں ایک حرکت مذبحی کی اور پانچ لاکھ یہودی قتل ہو گئے۔ جو بج گئے وہ در بدر پھرنے لگے اور جہاں گئے ذلیل و خوار ہوئے۔

علم حق با تو موا ساھا کند  
چوں کہ از حد بگذرد رسوا کند

۷۴۔ اسمانی صحیفے اب منتشر طور پر یہود کے پاس رہے۔ مگر اب کسی متن تورات پر اتفاق نہ تھا۔ اور احبار اپنا دینی اقتدار قائم رکھنے کے لئے خود بھی اپنے مفید مطلب صحیفے لکھ لکھ کر شامل کرنے لگے۔ فویل للذین یکتبون نایدیہم تم یقولون ہدا من عند اللہ لیسترواہ تمنا ولیلا

حضرت مسیح کے متبعین میں پہلی صدی عیسوی میں مختلف فرم پیدا ہو گئے جنہوں نے اپنے اپنے طور پر ۳۴ انا جیل تحریر کر دیں۔ ذیل میں ہم تورات و اناجیل کے چند خاص کتابوں کے نام درج کرتے ہیں:-

تورات :- حضرت موسیٰ کی توریت جس میں پانچ کتابیں پیدائش خروج احبار اعداد توریتی منشی شامل ہیں۔ حضرت یوشع سموئل یسعیاہ حزقیل کے صحیفے۔ زبور داؤد امثا سلیمان۔ ان کے علاوہ حضرات ادیس ابراہیم کے صحیفے اور صحیفہ معراج یعقوب و موسیٰ وغیرہ۔

اناجیل :- انجیل یہودیہ، انجیل ایبائی، انجیل برنا پاس، انجیل تاصرین، انجیل متی، انجیل مرقس، انجیل لوقا، انجیل یوحنا، انجیل ہسی لیداس وغیرہ۔

حضرت مسیح نے چوں کہ فرما دیا تھا کہ میں احکام تورات کو بدلنے نہیں آیا ہوں، صرف ظاہر پرستی اور تساوت کی اصلاح۔ تزکیہ نفس اور اخلاق حسنہ کی تعلیم دینے آیا ہوں اس لئے نصاریٰ انجیل کے سائبہ تورات کو بنی مانتے تھے۔ اور رومی نصاریٰ کو بھی یہود کا ایک فرقہ سمجھ کر جابجا قتل و غارت کرتے تھے۔ آخر ان مظلوموں کی آہ مچرت



عرش الہی کو ہلا دیا اور رومیوں کا تیسرا تسلط چوتھی صدی عیسوی کے آغاز میں مسیحیت کا حلقہ بگوش بن گیا۔ اور دین عیسوی سلطنت رومہ کا سرکاری مذہب قرار پایا۔ اور بت پرستی کی بیخ کنی ہو نے لگی۔ سند ۳۲۵ء میں یننہ کی مشہور کونسل میں صرف چار انجیلیں متی مرقس تودا اور یوحنا منتخب کر لی گئیں۔ باقی سب رد ہو کر اسی زمانہ میں فنا ہو گئیں۔ مگر اب ایک نیافتنہ پیدا ہوا۔ یونانی روسی اور مصری تعددالہ اور تجسیم و حلول کے عقائد کے گرویدہ رہ چکے تھے۔ اب حضرت مسیح کو جوش عقیدت اور غلو کی باعث ابن اللہ اور ثالث ثلاثہ کہنے لگے۔ اور پھر عجیب و غریب افسانے آپ کی نسبت مشہور ہو گئے۔ قدیم یونانی افلاطون کو اپالو دیوتا کا بیٹا مانتے تھے۔ سورخ ہلو ٹارک سکندر کو جوبیز کا فرزند قرار دیتا تھا، اور لکھ دیا تھا کہ دیوتا سانپ کی شکل میں سکندر کی ماں کی خواب گہ میں آیا تھا۔ مصریوں کا دیوتا آسائرس مکرر زندہ ہو گیا تھا۔ اور آسمان پر چڑھ گیا تھا۔ ہورس (یعنی آفتاب) آس کا بیٹا ہے جس کی ماں آئیس ہے۔ حضرت مسیح کے متعلق بھی عتبہ تثلیث و کفارہ اور صعود آسمان اسی قبیل سے ہے۔

اناجیل کے قدیم نسخے دنیا میں صرف تین باقی ہیں:-

(۱) نسخہ اسکندریہ پانچویں صدی عیسوی کا لکھا ہوا جو برٹش میوزیم میں موجود ہے۔

(۲) نسخہ وٹیکن جو پوپ کے کتب خانے میں موجود ہے بشپ مارش کے نزدیک یہ نسخہ پانچویں صدی عیسوی کے بعد کا لکھا ہوا ہے۔ اس میں عہد عتیق (یعنی تورات) اور عہد جدید (یعنی اناجیل) یونانی زبان میں تحریر ہیں۔ مگر سب کامل نہیں ہیں۔

(۳) نسخہ سینا۔ اس نسخہ کے دستیاب ہونے کی عجیب داستان ہے جو درج ذیل ہے:-

ڈاکٹر ٹشڈاف ایک مشہور جرمن عالم تھا۔ جس کو کتب مقدسہ کے قلمی نسخوں کی تحقیقات اور جستجو کا نہایت شوق تھا۔ سنہ ۱۸۴۴ء

میں ایک مرتبہ اس کا گزر ایک خانقاہ میں ہوا ، جو کوہ بلور کے نیچے واقع تھی ۔ جس وقت وہ خانقاہ کے کتب خانہ کی سیر کر رہا تھا ، اتفاق سے اس کی نظر ایک ٹوکری پر پڑی جس میں قلمی اوراق کا ڈھیر لگا ہوا تھا ۔ اور جو آگ روشن کرنے کے واسطے وہاں لائے گئے تھے ۔ ڈاکٹر نے جھک کر چند اوراق ٹوکری سے نکال لئے ۔ غور جو کرتا ہے تو معلوم ہوا کہ یونانی نسخہ 1 سبیینہ کی سب سے قدیم نقل ہے ۔ اور اس وقت تک اتنی پرانی نقل کوئی اور اس کی نظر سے نہیں گزری تھی ۔ جوش مسرت سے اس نے فوراً راہبوں سے درخواست کر کے ۴۰ چالیس ورق نکال لئے ، لیکن اس کے وفور شوق اور بے تابانہ حرکت سے راہب سمجھ گئے کہ غالباً یہ اوراق کا ڈھیر جسے وہ آگ کی نذر کرنے چلے تھے ، انہیں دولت سے مالا مال کر دے گا ۔ اس لئے انہوں نے ٹوکرا اٹھا لیا ، اور صاف کہہ دیا کہ اب اوراق نہیں مل سکتے ۔ ناچار ڈاکٹر موصوف اپنے وطن جرمنی کو واپس آیا اور کوشش کی کہ خدیو مصر کے ذریعہ سے پورا نسخہ مل جائے ۔ مگر ناکامی ہوئی ، تاہم وہ مایوس نہ ہوا ، اور پندرہ برس تک برابر کوشش کرتا رہا ۔ آخر زار روس کی توجہ کو اس نے اپنی طرف مبدول کر لیا ، اور شاہی سفیر کی حیثیت سے اب وہ پھر سنہ ۱۸۵۹ء میں اس خانقاہ میں آیا ۔ اور بڑی مشکل سے کامل نسخے کا پتہ لگا کر راہبوں کو رضامند کر لیا ، اور نسخہ اپنے ساتھ لیکریٹروگریڈ باید تخت روس میں واپس آیا ، جہاں وہ نسخہ اب تک شاہی کتب خانہ میں موجود ہے ۔

یہ نسخہ چوتھی صدی عیسوی کا لکھا ہوا ہے ۔ اس میں عہد عتیق عہد جدید اور اپو کریفہ 2 شامل ہیں ۔ اس نسخہ میں انجیل مرقس کا

1 نوٹ :- ساڑھے تین سو برس قبل مسیح شاہ مصر بطلمیوس فلاڈلفیوس عبرانی نے نسخہ کا یونانی ترجمہ کرایا اور اپنے کتب خانہ اسکندریہ میں محفوظ کر لیا ۔ اسی کو نسخہ سبیینہ کہتے ہیں ۔

2 نوٹ :- اپو کریفہ ۔ عہد عتیق کی وہ ۳۵ کتابیں جن کو فرقہ پراسٹیٹ یعنی انگریز و جرمن وغیرہ خارج کرتے ہیں سنہ ۱۹۱۳ء میں اس کا انگریزی ترجمہ چارلس نے آکسفورڈ سے شائع کیا ۔

باب اخیر جس میں حضرت عیسیٰ کا دوبارہ زندہ ہو کر آسمان پر چڑھ جانے کا قصہ درج ہے مطلق مذکور نہیں ہے۔ اس لئے اب انصاف پسند علماء مسیحی کو اقرار کرنا پڑا ہے کہ واقعی یہ آیات یعنی باب ۱۶ آیات ۹ لغایت ۲۰ الحاقی ہیں، کیوں کہ وٹیکن نسخہ میں ان آیات کی جگہ پر سادہ ورق چھوٹا ہوا تھا، جس سے یہ خیال تھا کہ کیا عجب کاتب نے سہواً چھوڑ دیا ہو لیکن اس نسخہ میں آیت ۸ پر خاتمہ، اور پھر بغیر کسی فاصلہ کے انجیل لوقا کا آغاز ہو گیا ہے۔

نسخہ سینا کے دستیاب ہونے کے بعد انگلستان کے شہر کنٹربری میں ۲ مشہور مذہبی پیشوایان مسیحیت کی ایک کانفرنس سنہ ۱۸۷۰ میں منعقد ہوئی، جس نے گیارہ سال کے تلاش و تحقیق کے بعد ایک Revised Version (روائزورشن) عہد جدید کا شائع کیا۔ انہوں نے اعتراف کیا کہ چند مقامات واقعی الحاق ہیں۔

ذیل میں ہم تین مقامات کا حوالہ یہاں نقل کرتے ہیں۔

(۱) انجیل مرقس باب ۱۶ درس ۹ نو صفحہ ۲۰ جس میں حضرت مسیح کا زندہ ہو کر دوبارہ آسمان پر چڑھ جانا مذکور ہے۔

(۲) نامہ جان اول باب ۵ درس ۷ جس میں مسئلہ تثلیث مذکور ہے۔

(۳) اعمال حواریاں باب ۸ درس ۳ جس میں ایک خواجہ سرا کا عقیدہ کہ مسیح ابن اللہ ہیں مرقوم ہے۔ دانایان فرنگ کی داد تحقیق اور انصاف پسندی کا کیا کہنا، مگر مہذب دنیا کی مسیحیت اب تک ”ایک تین اور تین ایک“ کے حلقہ دام خیال میں پھنسی ہوئی ہے۔

ساڑھے تیرہ سو سال سے زائد عرصہ گزرا جب ایک امی (روحی فداہ) کے زبان پاک نے یہ پیغام الہی سنا دیا تھا :-

وقالوا اتخذ الرحمن ولداً لقد جئتم شيئا ادا  
تكد السّموات يتفطرن منه و تنشق الارض

وتخرا الجبال هداه ان دعوا للرحمن ولدا

(سورہ مریم)

اور کہا رحمان نے ایک بیٹا بنا لیا۔ بیشک تم یہ بری بات لائے  
قرب ہیں کہ۔ آسمان پھٹ جائیں اور زمین بھٹ جائے اور پہاڑ کانپ کر  
گر پڑیں کہ وہ پکاریں کہ رحمان کے بیٹا بھی ہے۔

نزول کلام اللہ :- آسمانی صحیفوں کی جب یہ حالت تھی تب سانویں  
صدی عیسوی میں توریت کی اس پیشین گوئی کی تکمیل ہوئی۔ خدا سینا سے  
نکلا اور ماسجیر سے چمکا پھر فاران سے ظاہر ہوا۔ اس کے داہنے ہاتھ  
میں شریعت روشن اور لشکر ملائکہ ہمراہ۔

(تورات مثنیٰ باب ۳۳ درس ۲)

اس کی تفسیر یہ ہے کہ کلام الہی سینا سے بہ شکل نورات اور ساعیر سے  
برنگ انجیل اور فاران سے بہ صورت قرآن انسان کو عطا ہوا۔ تورات  
و انجیل حوادث روزگار کے باعث اپنے اصلی حالت میں محفوظ نہ رہے اس  
لئے قرآن کی حفاظت کا خدا نے خود وعدہ فرمایا :-

انا نحن نزلنا الذکر وانا له لحافظون

(سورہ الحجر)

بیشک ہم نے قرآن کو اتارا ہے اور ہم اس کے محافظ نہیں یہ وعدہ  
جس طور سے پورا ہوا اس کی تفصیل یہ ہے :-

رسول اللہ صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم کی مدت رسالت ۲۳ سال تھی تیرہ سال  
مکہ معظمہ میں اور دس مدینہ منورہ میں اس کل مدت میں جس قدر وحی  
مختلف اوقات میں آپ پر نازل ہوئی۔ اس کا مجموعہ قرآن ہے۔ جس میں ایک  
سوجودہ ۱۱۴ سورتیں ہیں۔ قرآن کی حفاظت ابتدائی نزول سے دو طریقہ سے  
ہوئی۔ اول حفظ دوم کتابت۔ (۱) حفظ۔ عرب میں قبل اسلام عام رواج تھا کہ  
مشاہیر کے اشعار و خطبات زبانی حفظ کرتے تھے۔ ان کا حافظہ قوی تھا۔  
شعرائے جاہلیت کے اشعار اسی طور سے عہد بنی امیہ میں جمع ہوئے۔ نزول

قرآن ابتداء میں چند آیات پھر چھوٹی چھوٹی سورتوں میں شروع ہوا۔ جن کو صحابہ کرام زبانی یاد کر لیتے تھے اور چوں کہ نماز ابتداءً بعثت سے فرض ہو چکی تھی نازل شدہ حصہ قرآن بار بار نماز میں پڑھا جاتا تھا اور آسانی سے حفظ ہو جاتا تھا۔ خلفائے اربعہ اور حضرت ابن مسعود خدیجہ وطلحہ مشہور حفاظ تھے، ان کے علاوہ اور بھی حافظ تھے۔ وفات رسول اللہ کے دوسرے ہی سال جب حضرت ابوبکر رضی کی خلافت میں مسیلمہ کذاب سے یمامہ کا خونخوار معرکہ پیش آیا تو اس میں ۷۰ ایسے صحابی شہید ہوئے تھے جن کو قرآن مجید حفظ تھا۔ حقیقت یہ ہے کہ ابتداءً نزول سے آج تک کلام مجید سینوں میں ہی، خاص طور سے محفوظ رہا ہے۔ اور قیامت تک رہے گا۔

دنیا کے تمام مطبوعات خواہ مذہبی ہوں یا غیر مذہبی مثلاً اگر ایٹم بموں سے تباہ کر دئے جائیں تو جب تک ایک مسلمان حافظ بھی دنیا میں موجود ہوگا اصل کلام مجید اس کے سینے سے نقل ہو سکتا ہے۔ یہ حفاظت الہی کا ایک کرشمہ ہے۔ کہ ہمارے حفاظ کے سینے لوح محفوظ ہیں اور نورانی ریکارڈ ہیں جو دست برد زمانہ اور حوادث روزگار سے محفوظ ہیں۔

(۲) کتابت۔ کلام مجید جس قدر نازل ہوتا تھا رسول اللہ صلعم سکے معظمہ میں حضرت علی اور حضرت عثمان رضی سے جو کاتبان وحی تھے لکھوا دیتے تھے، اور خود بعض صحابہ بھی جو لکھنا جانتے تھے لکھ لیتے تھے۔ سورہ طور جو مکی ہے اس میں ارشاد ہوتا ہے، کتاب مسطور فی رق منشور (اور قسم ہے لکھی ہوئی کتاب کی کشادہ ورق میں) تفسیر کبیر میں کتاب مسطور سے قرآن مراد لیا ہے رق چمڑے کو کہتے ہیں، صراح میں پوست آہو، انگریزی میں پارچمینٹ سن عیسوی سے ایک صدی پیشتر مصری سپرس کے عوض اس کا رواج شہر پر گلوں (واقع ایشیائے کوچک) میں ہوا۔ قرآن کے اجزاء پہلے چمڑے پر لکھے گئے۔ صحابہ اور چیزوں پر مثلاً کھجور کی شاخ، پتھر کی پتلی تختیاں، اونٹ کے شانے کی چوڑی ہڈی اور پالان کی لکڑی پر بھی لکھتے تھے۔

سورہ بقرہ مدنی ہے اس کے شروع میں ذالک الکتاب لاریب فیہ ہے یہاں بھی کتاب سے قرآن مجید مراد ہے۔ مدینہ میں حضرت امی بن کعب رض اور حضرت زید بن ثابت جنہوں نے ارساد نبوی کے مطابق عبرانی بھی سیکھے لی تھی۔ خاص طور سے کالبان وحی تھے۔ رسول اللہ نے خاص طور سے مدینہ میں لکھنے کی ہدایت فرمائی تھی، جنگ بدر میں جو قیدی پکڑے گئے تھے ان میں جو لکھنا جانتے تھے ان کا فدیہ یہ مقرر فرمایا کہ وہ ایک ایک مسلمان کو لکھنا سکھادیں پھر آزاد ہیں۔

بزل قرآن کا طریقہ یہ تھا کہ سب سے پہلے حد ابتدائی آیات ابرا نازل ہوئیں، پھر سورہ فاتحہ جو شروع ہی سے نماز میں پڑھی جائے لگی۔ ایک عرصہ کے بعد جب اوراق کی بقیہ آیات نازل ہوئیں تو رسول اللہ نے ان کو ابتدائی آیات کے اوراق کے ساتھ لکھوا کر سور پوری کر دی کبھی کوئی سور مکمل نازل ہوتا تھی جیسے والمرسلات۔ کبھی ایک ساتھ دو سورتیں نازل ہوتی تھیں اور آپ دونوں کو الگ الگ لکھوا لے جاتے تھے۔ عرثکد وعدہ الہی ان علیا جمعہ و فرائد سہد رسالت میں ہی پورا ہو چکا تھا۔ اور قرآن کی کل سورتیں مرتب ہو گئی تھیں اور انکی تلاوت ہوتی تھی۔ ماہ رمضان میں دس دن آپ اعتکاف فرماتے تھے اور آپ کے سامنے قرآن مجید پڑھا جاتا تھا۔ وفات سے چند ماہ پیشتر آپ نے بیس دن استکاف کیا۔ اور دو مرتبہ قرآن آپ کے سامنے دھرایا گیا۔ وفات سے نو دن پہلے لتد جاءکم رسول من الفسکم ..... آلیہ کے آیات نازل ہوئے تھے، جو سورہ براءت (نوبہ) کے آخر میں درج ہوئے۔

یہاں یہ نکتہ یاد رکھنا چاہئے کہ رسول اللہ نے صاف فرمایا تھا لا تکتبوا عنی شیاً غیر القرآن (قرآن کے سوا اور کچھ مجھ سے لکھ نہ لینا) (دیکھو صحیح مسلم) اس کا نتیجہ یہ ہوا کہ وہ کلام جس کے متعلق آپ نے فرمایا کہ وحی الہی ہے، درج تحریر ہو کر قرآن کہلایا۔ باقی آپ کے اقوال احادیث کہلائے۔ جو خلائے راشدین کے بعد درج تحریر ہوئے۔ اور قرآن سے بالکل علحدہ رہے۔ یہ حال تورات و اناجیل کا نہیں ہے جن میں کلام الہی روایت بالمعنی کے طور پر از قبیل نزل آثار و سیر درج ہیں۔ مثلاً توریت کے ابتدائی پانچ کتابیں

لفظاً اور معنا کلام خدا مشہور ہیں لیکن پانچویں کتاب میں حضرت موسیٰ کی وفات کا ذکر اور مدفن کا حال بھی درج ہے۔ اسی طرح اناجیل سراپا کلام خدا نہیں ہے بلکہ سیرت عیسوی جس کو اپنے اپنے طور پر لکھنے والوں نے لکھ دیا مثلاً نسب نامہ مسیح انجیل متی میں کچھ اور، اور انجیل لوقا میں کچھ اور (دیکھو انجیل متی ۱-۸ اور ۱۶-۸)

لوقا ۱-۳۵ اور انجیل یوحنا) دونوں سے الگ حضرت مسیح سریم و یوسف کے بیٹے ہیں اور آپ کے اور بھائیوں کا بھی حوالہ ہے۔

(دیکھو انجیل یوحنا ۱-۳۵، ۶-۳۶، ۷-۳۵)

غرضکہ قرآن مجید اول سے آخر تک فاوخی الی شہدہ ماوخی کا مظہر ہے۔ وفات رسول اللہ کے دوسرے ہی سال خلیفہ رسول حضرت ابوبکر رضی اللہ عنہ نے زید بن ثابت کا تب وسی سے اس کو ایک مجموعہ میں امتیاض کے ساتھ نقل کرا کر اپنے پاس رکھا پھر حضرت عمر فاروق رضی اللہ عنہ کے قبضہ میں آیا آپ نے اپنے عہد خلافت میں یاریوں اور معلموں کو بلاد اسلامیہ میں مقرر کر کے درس قرآن پاک کی جبری تعلیم کا رواج دیا اور ایک خاص اہتمام یہ بھی کیا کہ رمضان شریف میں حفاظ مساجد میں قرآن نماز تراویح میں التزام کے ساتھ سنایا کریں جس پر ہمیشہ عمل رہا اور قیامت تک رہے گا۔ عارف روم نے خوب کہا ہے۔

مصطفیٰ را وعدہ داد انعام حق گربمیری تو نمیرد این سبق  
کس نشاید بیش و کم کردن درو توید از من حافظ دیگر میجو

حضرت عثمان نے اپنے عہد خلافت میں اس مجموعہ کو جو دو دفینوں کے بیچ میں محفوظ تھا حضرت حفصہ سے لے کر اس کے پانچ نقلیں اصل کے مطابق کرائیں۔ اور مدینہ منورہ مکہ معظمہ کوفہ، بصرہ اور دمشق میں ایک ایک نقل بھیجوادی اس طور سے جو روم و عجم کے نو مسلم لہجوں کے اختلاف کے باعث مختلف قراتوں میں پڑھنے لگے تھے۔ وہ سب

ایک ہی قرات قریش یعنی جس زبان میں رسول اللہ پر وحی نازل ہوئی تھی قرآن کی تلاوت کرنے لگے۔

یہ ترتیب مندرجہ ذیل ہے :-

(۱) سورہ فالح - (۲) - سب سے طویل یعنی سات بڑی سورتیں سورہ بقرہ<sup>۱</sup> سورہ آل عمران<sup>۲</sup> سورہ النساء<sup>۳</sup> سورہ مائدہ<sup>۴</sup> سورہ انعام<sup>۵</sup> سورہ اعراف<sup>۶</sup> سورہ انفال<sup>۷</sup> بشمول سورہ براب<sup>۸</sup> (۳) مثنیں جس میں کم و بیش سو آیات ہیں سورہ یونس سے سورہ فاطر تک ۲۶ سورتیں (۴) مثنیٰ جن قصص و لصایح کی تکرار ہے اور سو آیات سے کم ہیں۔ سورہ یسین سے سورہ و تک کی پندرہ سورتیں (۵) مفصل یعنی چھوٹی سورتیں جو سورہ و سے ناس تک جمع ہیں ۲۴ سورتیں۔ اس طور سے کل ایک سو چودھا ۱۱۴ سورتیں ہیں۔

حضرت علیؓ نے اپنے عہد خلافت میں اسی قرآن کی تلاوت اور اشاعت فرمائی۔ لیکن افسوس جب فرقہ بندیوں شروع ہوئیں نو فریقین کی کتب احادیث میں قرآن مجید کے متعلق بھی غلط روایات درج ہو گئیں۔ رئیس المجتہدین محمد بن علی بن بابویہ القمی کتاب الاعتقاد میں لکھتے ہیں جو اسماعیلی شیعوں کی مستند کتاب عقائد ہے۔

اعتقاد نا ان القرآن الذی انزل اللہ علی نبیہ ہمارا اعتقاد ہے کہ وہ قرآن جس کو خدا ہومایین الدفتین وما فی ایدی الناس نے اپنے نبی صلعم پر آنا دیا ہے وہ یہی اکثر من ذالک ومن نسب الیہا انا ہے جو دو وقتوں کے درمیان تھا اور تول اکثر من ذالک فهو کاذب لوگوں کے پاس ہے اس سے کچھ زائد نہیں جو لوگ ہماری طرف نسبت کرتے ہیں کہ قرآن زیادہ تھا موجودہ قرآن سے وہ جموٹے ہیں۔

حقیقت یہ ہے کہ اگر قرآن مجید میں کسی نے کچھ کمی یا بیشی کی ہو تو حضرت علیؓ کہ اپنے پانچ سالہ عہد خلافت میں خود اصلاح کر دیتے۔ آپ اسد اللہ الغالب مولائے مومنان اور قرآن ناطق تھے۔



اسلام میں بھی بدقسمتی سے ۲ فرقے ہو گئے لیکن قرآن سب کا ایک ہی رہا ہے اور رہے گا اس لئے کہ یہ کلام پاک حفاظت الہی کا زندہ معجزہ ہے جو خیرالامم کو عطا ہوا ہے۔

برکات قرآن :- یہود نے جس طرح حضرت عیسیٰ کو باوجودیکہ آپ نے توریت کو کلام الہی تسلیم کیا اور اس کے احکام کو واجب العمل پیغمبر نہ مانا اسی طرح یہود و نصاریٰ دونوں نے قرآن کو باوجودیکہ اس میں حضرت موسیٰ و عیسیٰ کو پیغمبر برحق تسلیم کیا لیا ہے اور توریت و انجیل کو کلام الہی، لیکن پھر بھی اس کی سچی تعلیمات کو حقارت و نفرت سے دیکھا اور حقیقت سے نا آشنا رہے۔ حق تعالیٰ نے فرمایا ہے۔

و انزلنا الیک الكتاب بالحق مصدقا اور تجدہ بر آتاری ہم نے کتاب حق لمابین یدید من الكتاب و مہیمنا علیہ پر تصدیق کرتی ہے اُٹھی کتابوں کو (سورہ مائدہ) اور سب پر شامل

بے شک قرآن، تورات و انجیل کا مصدق ہے اتنا ہی نہیں بلکہ صحف سماوی کا ”مہمین“، یعنی نگہبان ہے اور ان کی اصل تعلیم توحید اور اعمال حسند کا محفوظ رکھنے والا اور انبیائے کرام کی پاکبازی و عصمت کا اعلان کرنے والا ہے حالانکہ عہد عتیق و عہد جدید دونوں میں ان پاکیزہ صفات کا چشمہ گندلا نظر آتا ہے۔ ذیل میں چند مثالیں درج ہیں :-

(۱) عہد عتیق کی کتاب ملوک اول <sup>۱۱</sup> میں لکھا ہے کہ سلیمان <sup>۸۳</sup>

کی بیگمات نے، جو بیگانہ قوم سے تھیں پیری میں آپ کے دل کو بتوں کی طرف پھیر دیا آپ نے بیت المقدس کے مقابلہ میں سندر بنوائے اور بتوں کی پوجا کی لیکن قرآن الہی صاف کہتا ہے :-

و ما کفر سلیمان و لکن الشیاطین کفروا سلیمان نے کفر نہیں کیا۔ لیکن (سورہ بقرہ) شیطانوں نے کفر کیا،

قرآن کی صداقت کا جلوہ تاریخ کے مصنفے آئینہ میں دیکھو، حق و باطل

داف نظر آئے گا۔ واقعہ یہ تھا کہ حضرت سلیمان نے ایک شخص سیرو نعام کو قبیلہ یوسف پر عامل مقرر کیا تھا اس نے احسا کا حق کی ساریس سے فساد کرنا چاہا حضرت سلیمان کو خبر ہو گئی۔ چاہا کہ سیرو نعام کو اس کے کیفیہ کردار کی سزا ملے وہ بھاگ کر مصر پہنچا۔ بعد وفات حضرت سلیمان واپس آیا۔ اور حضرت کے بیٹے اور جاسپین کے مقابلہ میں صف آرا ہوا۔ آخر محملہ بارہ قائل نسی اسرائیل کے دس سیرو نعام کے شریک ہو گئے۔ اور ان کو بے کر سارہ میں تحب سس ہو گیا۔ جہاں اس نے دو تختے دان اور سابل میں سوا کر سونے کے بیچھے بے دوحے لگا۔ پھر انسی بے دوسی کو فروغ دینے کے لئے حضرت سلیمان نے بے دوسی کی بہیم برائی کو کتاب ملوک میں درج ہو گئی، جسے ہمارے ہاں احادیث موضوعہ۔ لیکن یہود نے عور نہ کیا اور ایک ہیم برجی کو جس میں حق تعالیٰ نے حکم خلافت اور ہیم بری عطا فرمائی تھی، ان کے خلاف ایک ناپاک الرام درج کتاب کر دیا۔ اس ہی بہیم بلکہ ہمارے بہاں کے صعیف راویوں کی طرح سیر سلیمان کو سادہ عجائب بنا دیا۔ سنئے :-

سلیمان کے پاس ایک انگوٹھی تھی۔ جس پر اسم اعظم کندہ تھا۔ اس کی تاثیر سے انسان حیوان چرند درند سب ہی آپ کے مسخر تھے۔ آپ کی سلطنت حسوت خوب مستحکم ہو گئی تو آپ کو اپنی طاقت اور سلطنت پر غرور ہو گیا۔ تب خداوند ناراض ہو گیا اور دواں اسمودیس چالاکی سے آپ کی انگوٹھی چرائے گیا اور فوراً لوٹ ہوٹ کر آپ کا ہمشکل بن کر تحت پریشو گیا۔ تب حضرت سلیمان اپنی حان بچا کر بھاگے اور فقیروں کا بھیس بدل کر اپنا نام ”مہلت“ رکھا، آخر شاہ اموں کے ملک میں پہنچ کر ناورچی خانہ میں نوکری کی۔ اتفاقاً شاہ کی بیٹی آپ پر عاشق ہو گئی۔ نادشاہ کو جب خبر ملی دونوں کو جگل میں بکال دیا۔ ایک دن وہاں ایک ماہی گیر مچھلی لانا شاہزادی نے اسکو خریدا۔ حب پٹ چاک کیا۔ اسی میں اسم اعظم والی انگوٹھی نکل پڑی۔ سلیمان نے فوراً انگوٹھی آثالی اور بہن کر معشوقہ کا خانہ بکڑا۔ اور چشم زدن میں یروشلم پہنچے۔ شاہ دیوان کو قتل کیا اور بہر بدستور سلطنت کرنے لگے۔

مروجہ عہد عتیق میں ایک کتاب اکلیرلیسٹیس (کتاب الوعظ) بھی شامل ہے جس کی ابتدا ہوں ہوتی ہے ”ملفوظات مہلت ابن داؤد شاہ یروشام،“ زمانہ حال کے علمائے یورپ کہتے ہیں کہ اس کتاب میں حکیم زینو کے خیالات کی ترجمانی ہے، جو حضرت سلیمان کے سینکڑوں برس بعد تحریر ہوئے۔ لوتہر نے بھی اپنے زمانہ میں نہایت سختی سے اس کتاب پر نکتہ چینی کی تھی۔ ہمارے ہاں وہب بن منبہ نے اس قسم کے قصے جنکو ”اسرائیلیات“ کہتے ہیں بیان کئے جو احادیث میں درج ہو گئے لیکن محققین اسلام نے ان سب کی قلعی کھول دی ہے۔

تفسیر مدارک میں ہے کہ انگشتی اور شیطان اور سلیمان کے گھر میں بت پرستی کی روایت یہود کے باطل قصوں میں سے ہے۔

ز مخشری نے بھی اپنی تفسیر میں یہی الفاظ لکھے ہیں۔ اور اس

کذب و افترا کو باطل کیا ہے۔ (۲) کتاب دوم سمویل  $\frac{11}{13-2}$  میں

لکھا ہے کہ داؤد نبی ایک دن اپنے ایک فوجی افسر اوریا کی حسین بی بی بت نسبع کو غسل کرتے دیکھ کر گرویدہ ہو گئے۔ آپ نے عورت کو محل میں بلوایا۔ اور وہ حاملہ ہو گئی۔ تب عیب چھپانے کے غرض سے اوریا کو میدان جنگ سے بلوایا لیکن وہ جوش جہاد میں گھر آ کر اپنی عورت سے ملتفت نہ ہوا۔ تب داؤد نے یہ ترکیب کی کہ اوریا کو لڑائی کی صف اول میں اپنے سپہ سالار سے خفیہ کہلا کر متعین کر دیا، جہاں اوریا نہایت جان بازی سے لڑ کر شہید ہو گیا تب آپ نے اس عورت سے جو اب پیوہ تھی شادی کر لی۔

یہود حضرت داؤد کو بیغمبر اولوالعزم صاحب زبور مانتے ہیں اور آج تک منتظر ہیں کہ مسیح موعود آپ ہی کی نسل سے پیدا ہوگا۔ پھر کیا زنا اور قتل عمد سے جو شریعت موسوی میں بھی گناہ کبیرہ ہیں نبوت اور عظمت داؤدی میں کچھ فرق نہیں آتا۔

افسوس یہود نے خاصان خدا کو بت پرستوں کے دیوتاؤں کی طرح سمجھا جن کے متعلق ان دیوبالاؤں میں شرمناک اور فحش روایات درج ہیں۔

قرآن مجید میں حضرت داؤد کے متعلق سورہ ص میں یوں ارشاد ہوتا ہے:-

واذکر عبدنا داؤد ذالایم ائد اواب انا سخرنا الجبال بعد یسبحن بالعشی والاشرا والطیر محشورہ کلہ اواب و سدنا ملکہ و آتینہ الحکمۃ وفصل الخطاب (سورہ ص)

اور ہمارے بندے داؤد کو یاد کر جو زور والا تھا بیشک وہ (ہماری طرف) رجوع رہتا تھا۔ ہم نے پہاڑوں کو اسکا نابعدار بنادیا تھا وہ سورج ڈھلے اور سورج نکلتے اس کے ساتھ تسبیح کرتے اور پرندوں کو بھی وہ جمع ہو کر سب اس کی طرف رجوع رہتے اور اسکی سلطنت کو ہم نے مضبوط کر دیا تھا اور ہم نے اسکو حکمت عطا کی، اور جھگڑا چکانے کی قوت فیصلہ۔

امام رازی تفسیر کبیر میں لکھتے ہیں کہ خدا نے یہاں حضرت داؤد کے آٹھ خاص صفات بیان فرمائے ہیں جن سے آپکا بلند مرتبہ رسالت معلوم ہوتا ہے۔ ان پاکیزہ صفات پر غور کرو اور قصہ اوریا کو تہمت لگانے والوں کے سر مارو۔

سعید بن المسیب حضرت علی مرتضیٰ سے روایت کرتے ہیں کہ آپ نے فرمایا جو شخص تم میں سے حضرت داؤد کا قصہ اسطرح بیان کرے جسطرح یہ قصہ گویاں کرتے ہیں تو میں اسکو ایک سو ساٹھ درے ماروں گا۔ یہ حدیث انبیاء پر بہتان لگانے کی۔ افسوس اس تہدید مرتضوی پر عمل نہ ہوا۔ اسی دور میں ہمارے بعض راویوں نے احادیث اور بعض تفاسیر میں یہ جیوٹا قصہ نقل کیا اور واقدی نے رسول کریم صلعم کے عقد زینب مطلقہ زید ہر قصہ اوریا کا رنگ معاذ اللہ چڑھایا۔ لیکن محدث نسائی نے صاف لکھ دیا کہ واقدی کے یہ راوی ضعیف ہیں۔ ہمارے زمانہ میں مطبوعہ قرآن مجید تاج کمپنی وغیرہ مطابع کے حاشیہ پر فوائد موضح القرآن نقل کرتے ہیں، جس میں اس قسم کے اسرائیلیات درج ہو جاتے ہیں۔ کاش ہمارے

علمائے کرام توجہ فرمائیں اور اس دور فتنہ میں صحیح حواشی لکھوائیں اور مالک مطابع ان کو شائع کریں ۔

اسید ہے کہ ہسٹری کانفرنس کے ارباب حل و عقد اسلامی حکومت پاکستان کو متوجہ کرینگے۔ (۳) کتاب خروج  $\frac{۳۲}{۳۵}$  الغایہ میں لکھا ہے کہ ہارون نے سونے کا بچھڑا حضرت موسیٰ کی غیبت میں بنایا،، ایسا مقدس بزرگ اور بچھڑا بنوا کر پجوائے۔ لاحول ولا قوۃ الا باللہ ۔

قرآن مجید کی مختلف سورتوں میں اس اتہام کی تردید ہے۔ اور سامری کو بچھڑا بنانے والا کہا گیا ہے۔ جو تورات پر تنقیدی نظر ڈالنے اور تاریخی روایات پر غور کرنے سے معلوم ہوتا ہے اس قسم کے اسرائیلیات کی تردید اور تورات و اناجیل و قرآن کا باہمی موازنہ ہم نے اپنی کتاب تاریخ صحف سماوی مطبوعہ سنہ ۱۹۱۹ ع بمقام لکھنؤ میں لکھ دیا تھا۔ اب اسکی طبع جدید کا انتظام ہونے والا ہے۔ و باللہ التوفیق ۔

بے شک قرآن مجید نور حقیقت دکھانے والا اور سارے عالم کو صراط مستقیم پر چلانے والا، انسان کے لئے شفا و رحمت امن عالم کے لئے ایک زبانی پیام اور بین الاقوامی فوائد کے لئے محکم اصول، انفرادی زندگی میں قلب کی تسکین، اور اجتماعی زندگی میں راحت جان اور فلاح دارین ہے۔

رباعی

یہ قرآن انوار تنزیل ہے      یہ ذکر خدا وحی جبریل ہے  
مین صحف ہے یہ لاریب فیہ      نگہبان توریت و انجیل ہے



# THE HISTORY OF INDIA

The history of India is a vast and complex subject, encompassing a rich tapestry of cultures, religions, and political systems. From the ancient Indus Valley civilization to the modern nation of India, the story is one of continuous evolution and transformation. The land has been a crucible of ideas, where the world's oldest religions were born and where the foundations of modern democracy were laid. The history of India is not just a record of events, but a testament to the resilience and adaptability of its people.

## SECTION II

# INDO-PAKISTAN HISTORY

The history of the Indian subcontinent is a story of deep roots and shared heritage. For centuries, the land has been a melting pot of different ethnicities and languages, creating a unique cultural mosaic. The British colonial era brought significant changes to the region, including the introduction of Western education and administrative systems. The struggle for independence was a defining moment in the history of the subcontinent, leading to the birth of India and Pakistan in 1947. The subsequent decades have seen both nations navigate the challenges of nation-building, economic development, and international relations. The history of Indo-Pakistan is a story of shared experiences and a future of mutual cooperation and progress.

## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

BY

HON'BLE DR. MAHMUD HUSAIN, Ph. D.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am fully conscious of the great honour you have done me by asking me to preside over this section of the History Conference which deals with the history of Hind-Pakistan. In my own judgment I do not quite deserve this distinction. It is true I have had old associations with the subject and I do not think my interest in history would ever cease, but the fact remains that I have deserted the teaching profession. In the circumstances, I value this honour all the more for it gives me an opportunity of exchanging thoughts with those in whose midst I spent the best part of my life and to whose circle I would ever retain the ambition to return.

In a brief address like this all I can do is to touch upon some of the vital problems that face us in regard to the study of history and the organization of research.

The history of Hind-Pakistan is a fascinating study. From the earliest times onwards it is full of interest. One may as well begin with the days when man first settled in this part of the world. Leaving aside the question whether he migrated into Hind-Pakistan from some other part of the globe or originally emerged here, we may begin our studies with the period for which we have more definite data. For the earliest stages of human civilization when man was "merged in the pageant of animal life" our knowledge is meagre. Generally scholars have held the view that the growth of pre-historic civilization in this sub-continent has been more or less similar to what we know of Western Asia and Europe. The discovery of stone and metal implements and other remains of the past seem to prove that like the people of Europe we, too, had the old and new Stone Ages as well as the Copper and Iron Ages in our history. Little has been done to know more about these times. This is, however, a task which can be better performed by scientists rather than historians.

Coming to a later period we enter the era of the Indus valley civilization which shows that Hind-Pakistan or, more accurately, Pakistan can claim to have been the home of one of the most ancient civilizations comparable with those of Egypt, Babylonia and Assyria. To have an idea of the extent of progress which the residents of this part of the world had



made as early as the third millenium B. C. let me reproduce the words of the great excavator, Sir John Marshall : "Their Society is organised in cities ; their wealth derived mainly from agriculture and trade.....They cultivate wheat and barley as well as the date palm. They have domesticated the humped zebu, buffalo and short-horned bull, besides the sheep, pig, dog, elephant and camel.....For transport they have wheeled vessels..... They are skilful metal-workers with a plentiful supply of gold, silver and copper.. ... With spinning and weaving they are full conversant.....Their weapons of war and of the chase are the bow and arrow, spear, axe, dagger and mace .....The ornaments of the rich are made of the precious metals or of copper, sometimes overlaid with gold, of faience, ivory, carnelian and other stones ; for the poor they are usually of shell or terra-cotta.....With the invention of writing the Indus peoples are also familiar."\* This is not all, for we have further and later accounts of the excavation work done and researches made in the Indus valley ; but it is enough to give us an idea as to how great was the contribution made by the people of ancient Pakistan to civilization.

One is disappointed when one sees that almost all that has been achieved in the field of research and excavation has been the result of the labours of foreign scholars. Never-the-less, we hope in future our own historians and archaeologists would take up this work in right earnest. I have no doubt that many parts of our country still bear valuable treasures in the form of architectural and other remains of ancient culture. No amount of energy and money spent in our efforts to discover and dig them up would be too great. The importance of digging out from beneath the surface of the land the precious remains of past ages is at least as important as the work of a patient researcher working inside the rooms of a library. Let the Archaeological Department, the Universities of Pakistan and academic bodies like the Pakistan Historical Society apply themselves to this task.

The decline of the Indus valley civilization seems to have been followed by a long hiatus in the history of Hind-Pakistan for it is not before 1500 B. C. that we enter the era of the Vedic Age. The ancient period of the history of this sub-continent is marked by the complete absence of historical literature. Dr. R. C. Majumdar refers to this deficiency in these words : "The absence of any regular historical chronicle is the leading feature of this period .....It is difficult to give a rational

\* *Mohenjo-doro and the Indus Civilization*, Vol. I, pp. V and VI,

explanation of this deficiency, but the fact admits of no doubt."\* It has however, been argued that on account of their peculiar temperament and outlook the people, to use Hsün T'ang's expression, "made light of the things of the present world." In the absence of recorded history there was no option but to reconstruct the ancient history of Hind-Pakistan on the basis of indirect sources, such as religious and other literary works, archaeological and epigraphic remains, coinage and monuments and lastly, the accounts of foreigners. All these sources have been and are being examined and utilized by scholars of ancient history, and no doubt their labours have been rewarded with remarkable success. Although considerable attention has been devoted to the study of this period by the scholars of Bharat it would not be right for us to neglect its study here in Pakistan. Even though their number is small, we have competent scholars well equipped with linguistic and other qualifications for the study of ancient history and there is no reason why every possible encouragement should not be extended to them. The study of Buddhism should prove to be particularly fruitful.

The third and undoubtedly the tallest mile-stone on the road of our progress was the advent of Islam. The Muslims brought with them not only a new creed but gave to the people of the sub-continent a new culture which drew its strength from revolutionary concepts of life. The Muslim belief in One God affected all domains of human activity. The concept of a class-less Society as contemplated in the Quranic verse—

” اِنْ اَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ اتَّقَاهُ ”

could not but produce far-reaching benefits for humanity. Islam aimed at raising the status of man to its fullest stature. Equality of man was one of its cardinal principles. This was something new for Hind-Pakistan which had been experiencing for centuries the evils of a caste-ridden social structure. Rejecting outright the institution of a professional class of careerist priests who monopolized religion and its practices, Islam brought man into direct contact with his Creator. For the first time the indigenous people find themselves ranged against the irresistible advance of an entirely new and revolutionary way of life. The marks and effects of military conquests disappeared with the establishment of a settled government and then began the slow but steady process of change. In the wake of political leaders and military conquerors came the *ulama* and the

*mashaikh*, the poets and scholars, who added to the richness of life in Hind-Pakistan. If the Muslims exhibited a remarkable spirit of tolerance in treating the conquered peoples, the Hindus also showed some anxiety to draw benefit from the impact of Islam on their religion and culture. The growth and expansion of new currents of thought, as for instance Neo-Hinduism in the South, Bhakti Movement in the North and Sikhism in the West were most positively the result of the influence of Islam.

In the domain of art and literature also we notice equally remarkable changes introduced by the Muslims. Carving and sculpture which were the most developed branches of indigenous art recede somewhat into the background giving place to epigraphy and calligraphic decorations in the earlier and painting in the latter stages of Muslim rule. Architectur was destined to attain such perfection as to become the envy of the whole world. Not only a new literature but a new language came into being. New values were introduced through this literature. To the study of Astronomy, Mathematics and Philosophy were added numerous other sciences in which the Muslims had specialized. History was one of these.

The importance of history had been realized by the Muslims very early. The Quran itself, by constantly referring to the history of the nations of the past and the lives of the Prophets had encouraged the study of history. The Muslims began its study with *hadith*, and as early as the second century of the Islamic era we find distinguished scholars working upon the various aspects of the Holy Prophet's life. Indeed the fact that our Prophet was a perfectly historical figure unlike many a religious leader of the ancient times whose lives have become shrouded in the mist of mythology and legend inspired the Muslims to study history. With Muhammad b. Ishaque, the first great biographer of the Holy Prophet, there begins a series of Arab historians, which includes the names of some of the most distinguished writers of the world. Tabarī, Baladhurī, Ibn Khaldūn, Ibn Miskawaih and Ibn Athīr, to name only a few of them, have earned immortal glory in the domain of historiography. Ibn Khaldūn, in particular, was destined to change the entire conception of historiography. He has been rightly described as the first of the modern historians—even though he lived in the fourteenth century—and the founder of modern sociology. The noble traditions laid down by these pioneer historians were kept up by the non-Arab peoples who entered the fold of Islam. Iran, for instance, produced numerous writers of history and biography whose works adorn the finest libraries of the world. The

*Lubabul Albab*, the *Chahar Maqala*, the *Tarikh-i-Jahan Kusha*, the *Tarikh-i-Wassaf*, the *Rauzatu-Safa* and lastly the monumental *Jami-ut-Tawarikh* are some of the classical works known all over the modern world

In Hind-Pakistan, too, the achievement of the Muslims was in no way less remarkable. The scholars who flourished and worked under the munificent patronage of Sultan Mahmud and his descendents have added considerably to the growth of historical literature in the East. Albiruni's masterly work on the India of the eleventh century is even today the most authentic source of our information for that period. The *Tabaqat i-Nasiri* is the first important general history written in Hind-Pakistan but its author was a foreigner who had taken refuge in this Sub-continent. Truly speaking our first great historian was Ziauddin Barani whose *Tarikh i-Firuz-Shahi* deserves more than a passing notice. In Barani's work we find the consummation of Indo-Muslim ideal of historiography. Enumerating the beauties of the science of history he emphasizes the point that the very foundation of history is *truth* and strengthens his arguments thus —

ماء علم تاريخ بر صدق بهاده اند چنانچه مهتر ابراهيم عليه السلام  
اس معنى را ارحدائى بحالى درخواست مى كند و ندعا مى حواهد و احعل لى  
لسان صدق فى الاحرس (برى-تاريخ فيروز شاهى صفحه ۱۲) -

He goes on dilating upon this point and lays down that in the absence of the chain of narrators which is necessary in the case of a *hadith*, but is not always possible for the historians to provide, it is absolutely essential that the author must be a man of integrity and character. In his own words

پس مولف تاريخ هم از اهل اعتبار نابد و هم بصدق و عدالت مشهور  
و مذکور نابد تا در رشته ى سد او اعتقاد مطالعه كسد گن راسخ گردد و  
درمیان معتران اعتبار گيرد كه اطمینان خاطر معتران با شد مگر در رشته  
معترى كه در امانت و دنات اوشه و شكى بود (صفحه ۱۳)

It is difficult to say if history constituted one of the subjects taught at the schools and colleges in the earlier days of Muslim rule, but in the time of Akbar it certainly was. Abul Fazl has given us an exhaustive list of subjects that a student was expected to learn and history is included in it \*

We all know that many of our historians have produced first-rate works dealing with different aspects of Indo-Pakistan history. Baranī and Amir Khusrau, Nizamuddin and Firishta, Abul Fazl and Badanni, and Abdul Hameed and Kwafi Khan will always be counted among the leading historians of the East. But when we come to modern times, the story is somewhat different. Historial research during the last two hundred years followed a certain pattern. This pattern was chosen with a purpose. It fitted well into the scheme of education imposed on us by our foreign masters. The history of Muslim efforts to make this sub-continent a better place than what they had found it became the chief sufferer. The reason why the attack was directed particularly against this aspect of history is not far to seek. It was Muslims from whom power had been wrested and it was they who, before numbers alone began to rule the world, were the chief aspirants to power. They were not merely to be relegated to an inferior status, politically, and economically, their whole past was to be misrepresented and their history distorted. The history of Muslims in India was depicted as if it consisted of nothing but bigotry, intolerance and corruption. In the unforgettable couplet of Shibli,

تمہیں بے دے کے ساری داستان میں یاد ہے اتنا  
کہ عالمگیر ہندو کش تھا ظالم تھا ستم گر تھا

Continuous research and teaching of history on these lines not only produced its baneful effects upon the non-Muslim communities, it made even Muslims sceptical of their past and, therefore, doubtful of their future.

It is most unfortunate that modern historical studies in the Sub-continent are to a very large extent based on Elliot's work on Muslim historians of India. There can be no doubt that he has been responsible for creating misunderstandings which had evil and far-reaching effects. In addition to racial prejudice which seems to be the marked characteristic of the nineteenth century Western writers on Indian history, Sir Henry Elliot had developed a dislike for the people of this Sub-continent, more particularly for the Muslims. How easily he allows himself to be misled into drawing general conclusions from the solitary instance of fraudulent conduct of an individual is indicated by this passage :

“On the other hand it must not be concealed, that in India great difficulties beset the enquirer in this path of literature, arising chiefly from one of the defects in the national character, viz.

the intense desire for parade and ostentation, which induces authors to quote works they have never seen, and to lay claim to an erudition which the limited extent of their knowledge does not justify”.

Then he goes on to refer to the case of a certain “author” in Agra, who had published a “useful set of chronological tables of the Mughul dynasty, said to be founded on the authority of several excellent works named by the author.”

On enquiring from this “author” he was disappointed to learn that he could not produce all the original sources mentioned by him, and that some of the authorities named did not contain anything on the subject. It is astonishing to find that a man of Sir Henry Elliot’s status should make such disparaging remarks about a whole people because of the conduct of a single individual who was too obscure to be named ! Proceeding further he condemns the entire production of our historical literature :

“It must be understood, then” he says, “that this Index has not been constructed on account of any intrinsic value in the histories themselves. Indeed it is almost a misnomer to style them histories. They scarcely claim to rank higher than Annals ..... They comprise, for the most part, nothing but a mere dry narration of events, conducted with reference to chronological sequence, never grouped philosophically according to their relations.

These words coming as they do, from the pen of a writer whose range of historical studies covered the entire period of Muslim rule, lead us to one conclusion only. Elliot wrote with a set purpose and by no means a noble one ; for he betrays himself when, carried away by his consuming passion to publicise the ‘benefits’ of British rule, he tries to justify the preparation of his work in these words :

“But though the intrinsic value of these works may be small, they will still yield much that is worth observation to any one who will attentively examine them. They will serve to dispel the mists of ignorance by which the knowledge of India is too much obscured, and show that the history of Muhammadan period remains yet to be written. They will make our native subjects more sensible of the immense advantages accruing to them under the mildness and equity of our rule. If instruction were

sought for from them, we should be spared the rash declarations respecting Muhammadan India, which are frequently made by persons not otherwise ignorant. Characters now renowned only for the splendour of their achievements and a succession of victories, would, when we withdraw the veil of flattery, and divest them of rhetorical flourishes, be set forth in a truer light, and probably be held up to the excretion of mankind. We should no longer hear bombastic Babus, enjoying under our Government the highest degree of personal liberty, and many more political privileges than were ever conceded to a conquered nation, rant about patriotism, and the degradation of their present position. If they would dive into any of the volumes mentioned herein it would take these young Brutuses and Phocions a very short time to understand to learn, that in the days of that dark period for whose return they sigh, even the bare utterance of their ridiculous fantasies would have been attended not with silence and contempt, but with the severer discipline of molten lead or empalement."

I must apologize for the rather lengthy quotations from Elliot's preface, but this was necessary because, as I have said before, it was his work that became the main source of information for most of our students and research workers. I would say nothing about the genuine errors of his translation and annotation ; for these one may refer to Professor Hodiwalla's "*Studies in Indo-Muslim History*", Any one can commit mistakes, but Elliot has done more ; he has misinterpreted the accounts of Muslim writers and selected only those passages which served his point of view.

Unfortunately during the last hundred years much of what has been written on Indo-Muslim history has presented even the brightest achievements of the Muslims in the darkest possible colours. In our text books of history we have been over-emphasizing individual acts of tyranny and hardship and completely ignoring or at least minimizing broad questions of policy and reform and their salutary effects on the life and conditions of the people in general. The result of Aryan supremacy in the Sub-continent was that the aborigines were turned into *Shudras* and out-castes; the predominance of Hinduism had meant the complete disappearance of Buddhism in the land of its birth. Compare these important events of our ancient history with the results of Muslim rule. The Sub-continent which had been merely a geographical expression attained for the first

time political unity under Muslim rule. The nature of this rule was, however, such that after a thousand years of Muslim supremacy the Hindus did not only retain numerical majority but enjoyed great political and economic advantages in the life of the Sub continent. The misunderstandings created by the wrong interpretation and distortion of facts by western writers have been by no means few or temporary. They have spoiled our own outlook, and many of our best scholars have been misled into presenting their own history in colours which suited the interests of India's foreign rulers. Muslim history has equally suffered at the hands of Hindu Nationalism.

Our responsibilities in regard to the re writing of history are very great. So far, our attention has remained concentrated mostly on political and military history. Here, too, the emphasis has been on biography rather than history in its wider sense. For the Muslim period we have plenty of material to make use of. Firstly archaeology should come to our aid in writing the early history of Islam in the Sub continent. It so happens that the earliest contact with Islam centred in areas which are now situated in Pakistan. Excavations in Sind are likely not only to throw fresh light on ancient history, but on the history of Islam itself. Architectural remains offer another useful source of information. Then, there is no dearth of data in black and white. Besides numerous general and dynastic histories which are too well known to be re counted here I would like to particularly draw your attention to other branches of literature, such as the *mafuzat* of the *Sufis*, poetic compositions and *Tazkirahs*. Nor can we ignore the study of epistolary and religious literature. A careful examination of *Fatawa i-Alamgiri* and the letters of Aurangzeb is indispensable for a student of Mughal history. Coming to more recent times we have to reassess personalities and re examine problems which have remained shrouded within the dark folds of ignorance. A proper appraisal of Sirajuddaula and Tipu Sultan, for instance, still remains to be done. Hafiz Rahmat Khan has not been given the attention he deserves. The War of Independence is still often spoken of as the "Mutiny" and the movement sponsored by Hazrat Syed Ahmad Shaheed and his colleagues is dismissed by our historians as an insignificant and isolated episode. The history of social and political movements and educational effort is yet to be written.

I am not unconscious of the difficulties that beset our path. For two centuries or more our public and private libraries were systematically robbed of their choicest treasures and much of what had remained was lost in the catastrophes of 1857 and 1947. There can be no doubt that the



number of libraries and their collections set up during the Muslim rule was enormous. The Muslim princes were in most cases great patrons of art and literature and we find that *Kutabdar*\* was a regular post attached to the Household Department of Muslim princes. Akbar is said to have left a collection of about 25,000 manuscripts, and in the royal library of the rulers of Oudh the number of books exceeded one lakh. Equally lamentable is the fact that only a negligible share of our literary treasures has fallen to the lot of Pakistan, and the major portion of source material of history is to be found in the libraries of Bharat and U. K. However, these difficulties need not discourage us; they have to be surmounted. Our efforts should be directed towards securing as many of these documents and books as possible. We can legitimately claim the Indo-Muslim section of the India Office Library. We should also make every effort to collect the treasures of history scattered throughout the Sub-continent much of which is likely to be lost for ever unless recovered in time. Let us not forget that well equipped libraries and institutes of historical research are a national necessity. To produce new books we must have old books and documents and without research facilities much progress is not possible. I am glad that the Pakistan Historical Society has already prepared an elaborate scheme for a Research Institute to which would be attached a comprehensive library. This scheme I trust would materialize sooner than many of us expect because of the interest which our Education Minister, Mr- Fazlur Rehman is taking in it. His enthusiasm for such causes and his close association with the Society are, to my mind, the best guarantee of its success.

Some of our foremost scholars are here, and I only wish they would continue their labours in the domain of historical research. *The Administration of the Delhi Sultanate* by Dr. I H. Qureshi, "*The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*" by Mr. M. B. Ahmad *The Foundation of Muslim Rule in India* by Dr. A. M. Habibullah and '*A Short History of the Delhi, Sultanate*' by Dr. Moinul Haq are excellent research works. Our historians must seriously take up the task of re-writing our history in its true and broad perspective and thus bring to light much that has remained buried under the debris of colonial bias and racial prejudice.

Apart from monographs it is necessary to plan a comprehensive history of Hind-Pakistan. This can be achieved only through collective effort spread over a number of years. The Government of Pakistan, I am glad, are thinking on these lines. Students of history would welcome

\* Dr. I H. Qureshi: *The Administration of the Delhi Sultanate*, p. 64; Bayazid's *Tazkirah-i-Humayun wa Akbar*,

the proposed plan to publish a history of the Muslim political movements in the Sub-continent with the Quaid-i-Azam as the central figure. The work which will run into four volumes will be written by Pakistan scholars under the guidance of an editorial board. The history will begin with the decline of the Mughal power and tracing the various efforts at recovery and movements aiming at social reform and political emancipation come down to the struggle for and finally the establishment of Pakistan. The work, when completed, is likely to be a land-mark in the history of Muslim historiography.

Another immediate necessity is a good historical journal to which our scholars can contribute the results of their latest researches. In countries of the West such journals are published in quite large numbers, each specializing in some branch of history. Let us begin at least with one to serve as a forum for our research scholars.

Yet another problem facing us is the re-writing of text books and overhauling of the history syllabi. The teaching of history in our schools and colleges is in a most deplorable state. There is great dearth of qualified teachers. The result is that even a living subject like history is taught in a very uninspiring manner. The old-fashioned method of stuffing the mind of the young pupil with isolated facts and any number of dates still continues while what is needed is the broadening of his mind and enabling him to make full use of his intellectual powers. No reform in the teaching of history is, however, possible without the preparation of good text-books and without a properly designed syllabus.

Lastly, we should not forget the need of our adult population either. Whether it is a person who has already had the benefit of some education in childhood or one who has become newly literate, both alike need specially written books. Books written for children do not suit such adults for the simple reason that they are not children, and books meant for higher classes do not suit them either because their knowledge is limited. Specially written books constitute the answer.

Before I concluded I would like to stress that history is not just a subject among subjects taught in our educational institutions. It is a long nation building discipline. As such it deserves the attention and respect accorded to it. As the English proverb says, the more you know about your own history, the more you will love your country. It is the only subject which is so closely connected with the life of the nation. It is the only subject which is so closely connected with the life of the nation. It is the only subject which is so closely connected with the life of the nation.

## INFLUENCE OF JAHAN ARA BEGUM ON THE MUGHUL COURT IN GENERAL AND ON SHAH JAHAN IN PARTICULAR

Very few women in History have ever commanded such a vast influence over a monarch and his court as did Jahan Ara Begum on her father and his court. This talented daughter of Shah Jahan was born to Arjumand Bano later known as Mumtaz Mahal at Ajmer on Wednesday, the 1st April 1614. Arjumand Bano bore fourteen children for Shah Jahan of whom seven died in infancy and Jahan Ara was the eldest of all who survived.

Shah Jahan, then Prince Khurram, was engaged in a battle at Chittaur at the time of Jahan Ara's birth. The Rajput ruler of Chittaur, Rana Amar Singh, offered stiff resistance to Khurram but he could not hold for long against the full pressure of the Mughul army and having surrendered got himself enlisted as a courtier of the Prince. The conquest of Chittaur having synchronised with the birth of Jahan Ara Begum it was considered an auspicious event. The Prince, therefore, was awarded higher rank at the royal court and the child was laid in her grand-father Emperor Jahangir's lap who christened her as Jahan Ara. She was immediately entrusted to the care of Hoor-i-Jan who did all humanly possible to bring her ward up in accordance with princely traditions of the Mughul *Harem*. The child was very fortunate indeed in having ladies of the calibre of Nur Jahan, Mumtaz Mahal and Sati-un-Nisa Khanum around her. They in due course made a point to give her special training in politics, literature, domestic affairs and fine arts. On the death of Hoor-i-Jan, Poet laureate Talib Amali's sister Sati-un-Nisa Khanum who was a well accomplished lady of the time, took charge of Jahan Ara Begum.

At the time of Shah Jahan's coronation at Agra in February 1628, Jahan Ara was of fifteen years. She offered a present to the Emperor befitting the occasion whereupon in the words of Dr. Banarsi Prashad Saxena: "To Jehan Ara Begum he (Shahjahan) gave one hundred thousand *ashrafis*, and four hundred thousand rupees and fixed for her an annual allowance of six hundred thousand rupees—half of which was to be paid to her in cash from the Royal Exchequer, and for the other half equivalent Jagirs were assigned to her."

After the death her mother Mumtaz Mahal, Jahan Ara Begum became the first lady of the Empire. She was the custodian of the Royal Seal

and with the help of Sati-un-Nissa Khanum she presented to the Emperor all papers relating to the *Harem*.

Shahjahan's attachment for Mumtaz Mahal is proverbial. However, Jahan Ara Begum was no less important and she commanded influence over both. On June 7, 1631 Mumtaz Mahal gave birth to a female child and began to succumb to the pangs of delivery. At this critical moment it was Jahan Ara Begum who was asked by Mumtaz Mahal to call Shahjahan, who was in the next room, for her last words with him. Jahan Ara rushed to the room where Shah Jahan was awaiting most anxiously for the news about her health and sent him to the queen.

It were not only the Emperor and the Queen over whom Jahan Ara Begum exercised tremendous influence; she had great influence on the princes and the princesses. It is a well-known fact that during his long stay in the Deccan as a Governor, Aurangzib visited Agra only twice; once for his marriage with Dilras Bano Begum in 1637, and the second time to see his sister Jahan Ara Begum in 1644 who had been badly burnt. Reverting to Shah Jahan, he did not sit in the *Jharoka-i-Darshan* throughout his life except on three occasions; once at the death of Mumtaz Mahal, second time when Jahan Ara Begum was burnt and the third time during his last illness. It was in 1644 that Jahan Ara Begum received very serious burns through fire which caused much anxiety to the royal court and the *Harem*. Shahjahan arranged the best possible medical aid available at the time and gave order that by way of alms one thousand rupees were to be distributed daily amongst the poor and the needy. Prayers were offered all over the Empire for her recovery and Murad and Aurangzib rushed to her bed-side from their respective provinces. She remained in bed for four months. It was on November 25, that a most pompous celebration was held to celebrate Jahan Ara Begum's complete recovery. She was weighed in gold which was distributed to the poor. Jahan Ara Begum spoke to the Emperor in favour of Aurangzib in whom he had lost all confidence. The Emperor forgave the Prince and restored him to his former rank.

The most remarkable feature of Jahan Ara Begum's life is her continuous and indefatigable enthusiasm for the up-keep of the integrity of the royal Mughul family. She acted as mediator between various disputant members of the family and brought about reconciliation. Her master-piece in this direction was the matrimonial arrangement made by her between Dara Shukoh and the daughter of Parvez on the one hand and between

Shah Shujā and the daughter of Rustam Mirza on the other. Preparations for the marriage of Dara was afoot when Mumtaz Mahal died. The ceremony was, therefore, postponed. They were, however, renewed in January 1633 and Jahan Ara Begum, with the help of Sati-un-Nisa Khanum, arranged and supervised the exhibition of the wedding gifts in the Hall of Public Audience. Historians unanimously say that three million and two hundred thousand rupees were spent on this occasion out of which six hundred thousand were contributed by the Royal Exchequer while one million and six hundred thousand were spent personally by Jahan Ara Begum and the rest of the expenditure was borne by the bride's mother.

However, despite her influence in the royal family and in the face of her strenuous efforts for the betterment of relations between the various disputant members of the family, she failed to stop the War of Accession. In her desperate effort to stop that catastrophe she successfully persuaded Shahjahan to nominate Aurangzib as his heir apparent, to confirm Dara in the Punjab and the Western provinces, give Deccan to Mua'zzam, Gujrat to Murad and Bengal to Shuja'. Shahjahan agreed with Jahan Ara Begum, but when she wrote to Aurangzib not to march on Dara, appraising him of her plan which had been approved by the Emperor, Aurangzib declined to listen to her and refused to see the Emperor until, he said he had finally settled with Dara. Then she met Aurangzib personally but returned disappointed, for he did not budge an inch. No doubt she wanted Dara to succeed Shah Jahan but realising the gravity of the situation she took a realistic view of the whole problem.

Barring this single failure, she was almost always successful in bringing about reconciliation in the family; so much so that whenever a prince was in trouble, he sought refuge in her help and she never failed to offer him her services.

Not only did the royal Mughul family and the Mughul court seek Jahan Ara Begum's favour, but even those coming from outside also had to approach her before they could expect the royal favour. For instance the Dutch messengers who wanted exemption from customs duty at Surat, had to win over Jahan Ara Begum besides some members of the court. After the death of Mumtaz Mahal which completely shattered the Emperor, it was only she who could fully understand the profound grief of his father and console him.

Her young brothers were busy in intrigues from the very beginning. This caused trouble to her father. She knew it was only she who could offer sincere advice to him.

On account of her special training in politics, literature, fine arts, coupled with her breadth of vision, she dominated all her brothers and sisters.

She knew she could be a most resourceful and effective mediator between them for the sake of Shahjahan.

Again, she was aware that during his old age her father was constantly being pin-pricked by his intriguing politically minded sons and he badly needed somebody who could look after him.

All this demanded her devotion to him and necessitated a great sacrifice on her part. Accordingly she decided not to marry at all.

It appears from various records that the intense attachment between the father and the daughter coupled with her decision not to marry throughout her life, gave an opportunity to some scandal seeking historians to level charges against them. Bernier tries to build a most ugly scandal on the sands of "rumour". He says, "Rumour has it that Shahjahan's attachment reached a point which it is difficult to believe, the justification of which he rested on the decision of the *Mullahs* or doctors of their law. According to them it would have been unjust to deny the king the privilege of gathering fruit from the tree he had himself planted." Vincent Smith got this story from De Laet, confirmed by Thomas Herbert. And De Laet was at the most a compiler and nothing more. Again, even Manucci, who took great pleasure in concocting and narrating scandalous stories about the private life of Shahjahan and Jahan Ara keeps silent over what has been narrated by Bernier. This evidence is sufficient to establish the innocence of Shahjahan and Jahan Ara.

Whatever the scandal seekers may say, it is a fact that Jahan Ara Begum stands almost unique in History among women who exercised unparalleled influence over an Emperor, his *Harem* and his court.

## POPULAR EDUCATION IN RE-BRITISH INDIA

A striking feature of the spread of Islam to the far corners of the world is the stimulus it gave to private effort to spread education both elementary and higher. The arrival of the missionary who was either a holy man well versed in divine lore or an enterprising merchant or an 'Alim, in a land hitherto strange to Islam in most cases resulted in the founding of the *Madrassah*, primarily intended as centre of proselytisation, but which eventually became the focii whence radiated movements making for the spread of learning, both spiritual and secular and dissemination of social and political ideas. It is being increasingly recognised that the phenomenal rise of the Islamic Common-wealth in the very first century of the Islamic era was not so much the result of military conquests as it was due to the Islamic belief and practice of absolute equality of all of its constituents and that of democracy as its political ideal.

The fact must not be overlooked, however, that since Islam became heir to great and historic Empires, the unsophisticated and crude desert-dwelling Arabs who were the earliest adherents to Islam, could not have over-thrown by sheer secular organisation and might such stupendous structures as the Roman, the Byzantine and the Persian which were based upon Laws some of which survive in the legal systems of modern Europe, adequate defence, and spiritual ideas largely derived from the same source as Islam. One may ask, then, what was it that produced the amazing and unprecedented phenomena. The answer is Islam's first century which witnessed not only the growth of its political authority but the wide dissemination of its spiritual teaching and social ideals. The *Madrassahs* constituted the centres where were trained not only missionaries and 'Ulama but civil administrators and statesmen who formed the back bone of Islam's political organisation.

### Education—a private enterprise.

The wonder is not that whereas, modern Europe took nearly five centuries to arrive at its modern awakening, Islam reached the apex of its development in almost a single bound. The institutions for the spread of learning were neither state-aided nor state-controlled. It speaks volumes for the intellectual zeal of our earliest progenitors that they recognised the acquisition of knowledge as a personal duty and did not look to any public organisation to achieve this end. Islam's earliest seats of learning were private schools and colleges founded by private individuals,

whether they were members of the reigning princely orders or merchant princes, the founders of historic *madrassahs* did not found them as a fulfilment of their public duties but by way of meritorious deeds beholden in the sight of Allah, whose Prophet had ordained **العلم فريضته على كل مسلم** (acquisition of knowledge was the duty of every Muslim, whether man or woman.)

It is therefore that in the Islamic social and cultural order, the highest place is given to the scholar and the learned man. Arnold in his *Preaching of Islam* pointedly referred to the outstanding esteem in which the 'Ulama were held in Islam. While the community marched, the 'Alim was assigned a place at the tail of the Caravan. This was by no means due to the fact that the 'Alim was considered an inconsequential person, but rather the reverse of it. He was placed in a position of great security as a privileged man. The place where the 'Ulama pursued their calling was, invariably a *Madrassah* attached to a mosque or a masoleum. It was therefore that noble men and wealthy benefactors vied with one another in founding seats of learning and endowing them with adequate resources so as to render them immune from financial vicissitudes. These *Madrassahs* were meant to be living tributes of the munificence of wealthy but private benefactor to the exhortation "Seek ye knowledge from cradle to grave" on the one hand and on the other to the learning of the humble but devoted 'Alims who dedicated their lives to the spread of knowledge.

### No Department of Public Instruction

Yet another remarkable thing about the rearing of the intellectual foundations by Muslims was that whereas the Government of the Khilafat maintained elaborate *Dawawin* or Boards of administrative departments for the execution of the affairs of the Government, the Department or a Ministry of Education i.e., a *Diwan-ul-Ma'arif* was conspicuous by its complete absence. The remark is true not only of the *Khilafat-i-'Abbasiah* but *Khalifahs* of Egypt and thereafter of the House of *Uthman*, as no doubt of the Mughul rulers of India and the Muslim Kings of Persia. There existed pious foundations in the form of *Madrassahs* bequeathed by their deceased patrons, but they were not public institutions controlled or financed by the state. They were at best private religious trusts created for the public good. The Abbasids maintained as many as twelve Departments or Ministries:

1. *Diwan-ul-Jund Wal-Ard* .. Army Recruitment and Military Inspection Board.



- |     |                                     |     |                                      |
|-----|-------------------------------------|-----|--------------------------------------|
| 2.  | <i>Diwan-ul-Kharaj</i>              | ... | Revenue and Finance                  |
| 3.  | <i>Diwan-ul-Rasail Wal Barid...</i> |     | Communications                       |
| 4.  | <i>Diwan-ul-Khatam</i>              | ... | The State Seal                       |
| 5.  | <i>Diwan-ul-Azmiah</i>              | ... | Audit and Accounts                   |
| 6.  | <i>Diwan-ul-Nazar fi Mazalim...</i> |     | Board of investigation of grievances |
| 7.  | <i>Diwan-ul-Nafaqat</i>             | ... | Board of Expenditure                 |
| 8.  | <i>Diwan-ul-Sawafi</i>              | ... | Board of Crown Lands                 |
| 9.  | <i>Diwan-ul-Diya</i>                | ... | Board of Estates                     |
| 10. | <i>Diwan-ul-Tauqi</i>               | ... | Board of Requests                    |
| 11. | <i>Diwan-ul-Sirr</i>                | ... | Board of Secrecy                     |
| 12. | <i>Diwan-ul-Shurta</i>              | ... | Police Department                    |
| 13. | <i>Diwan-ul-Shura</i>               |     |                                      |

Despite the existence of this imposing machinery for the methodical ordering of the affairs of State, there is not even a remote suggestion anywhere of the existence of a Department of Public Instruction. This deficiency, apparently grave, is explained however by the fact that before the advent of modern ideas of popular government mostly inspired by the West, medieval Muslim rulers looked upon education as a private and personal duty and not a function of the State. The *Khalifah*, the Sultan or the *Amir* who in most cases was a generous patron of learning fulfilled his duty in this respect like any other citizen but did not authorise the constitution of a state Department of Public Instruction.

### Growth of Private Universities

Consequently a number of educational institutions, being the result of private munificence and enterprise came into existence during the nine hundred odd years that the sub-continent enjoyed the benefits of Muslim rule. Since Islam discountenanced class and caste distinctions of all kinds, the new order gave to every one in the land freedom of opportunity and the freedom to benefit from these private schools, which later on proved to be the nurseries of many an humble seeker after knowledge, both Hindus (particularly the *Kayasth* and *Kashmiri Pandit*) and Muslims who achieved distinction as statesmen or administrators. The earliest institution to be thus founded was the school of Law, Letters and Theology started at Lahore under the inspiration and guidance of renowned saint and scholar, known as Shaikh, 'Alī Hujverī, surnamed Dātā Ganj Bakhsh.

One can form some idea of the eminence of Dāta Ganj Bakhsh from the well known appreciative verse:-

گنج بخشے فیض عالم مظہر نور خدا ناقصان را پیر کامل کاملان را رہنما -

ascribed to Hadrat Khwāja Mu'īnuddin Chishti Sultan-ul-Hind. The institution founded by Hadrat Ganj Bakhsh became in due course the nucleus of a great intellectual movement which led to the founding of more than a dozen *Madrassahs*, in the suburb of Lahore called Mughalpura, situated between the garden built by Gulbadan Banu for her favourite lady-in-waiting called Mirā Bāi, popularly known as Chauburji, and the village of Baghbanpura. Here lectured Shaikh 'Alī Hujweri, Hadrat Shaikh Khāwind Mahmūd, Hadrat Mīr-i-Mirān, Hadrat Mullā Kamāl Kashmīrī, Hadrat Maulana 'Abdul Hakīm Sialkotī and a host of other learned and pious men to an unending stream of scholars hailing from Afghanistan, Bukhārā, Kashmir and all parts of India. Lahore thus became the intellectual and cultural metropolis of north-western India.

### Institutions in the Punjab

More schools came into being at Sialkot, at Chiniot and at Shahdara whose *Qadis* like those of Jaunpur ran a family Law school whence were recruited *Qadis* and *Muftis* to man the judicial services in the Punjab and the provinces of the Indus Valley. At the dissolution of the Mughul rule even Ranjit Singh during his brief interlude and the East India Company's administrators thereafter, continued to employ *Qadis* trained by these schools. *Madaris-i-Allia* of Lahore were strengthened by feeder institutions such as Bhakkar, Hansi, Panipat, Multan, Sunam (Patiala) Peshawar and Rajauri started by graduates of the Lahore *Madrassahs*.

### Institutions in Western India and Deccan

There are clear indications that Dabhel and Surat, the Kathiawar ports of embarkation during Muslim regime for Sind and Western India pilgrims bound for Mecca and Iraq, became in due course seats of Muslim learning and were supplemented by schools founded at Mansurah and Thatta in Sind. When Sultan 'Ahmad Shah founded the Deccan Kingdom of Gujrat, Ahmadabad became a renowned educational centre to which were added later numerous schools started at Ahmadnagar, Bijapur, Burhanpur and Golconda, the capitals of the Barid-Shahis, 'Ismad-Shahis, 'Adil Shahis and Nizām-Shahis. After the reduction of these kingdoms at the hands of Akbar and the constitution of Haiderabad as an important *subah* of the Mughul Empire there sprang up more schools

at Gulbarga, Aurangabad, Bedar, Nander, Warangal and Vanyambari to the far South of the province.

### Madrasahs in South India

In the area called Madras Presidency under British regime there were colleges of Muslim learning at Srirangapatam, Vellore, Bellari and later at Calicut and Manglore, the centres of Moplah Muslims, and another at Kadappa.

### Central and East Indian Institutions

In Central India, schools at Jaora, Tonk and Bhopal furnished evidence of their Muslim political influence. To the East, there were important schools which drew scholars from Arakan, the Malaya States in the East and Bengal, Bihar in the West. These *Madrasahs* were located in Chitagong, Sylhet, Dinajpur, Dacca, then known as Sonargaon and later as Jahāngīr-Nagar. Then came the schools of Hugli, Murshidabād and Bardwān. In Bihar throughout its earliest contact with Islam and Muslim rule, flourished schools of Phulwari Sharif, Chapra, Ara, Bhagalpur and Azimabad and Patna and one at Sahsram attached to the last resting place of the famous ruler Sher Shah Suri.

### Metropolitan Universities

The capital provinces of Delhi and Agra and Oudh embracing most of the present day C.P., U.P., and Oudh constituted the Metropolitan area under Muslim rule and was administratively known as Hindustan consequently it contained more than a dozen Universities of which the most famous ones were schools at Sirhind which owed its beginnings to the great scholar and theologian, Hadrat Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi and those of Saharanpur and more than one *Madrasah* in the district known as Muzaffarnagar, at Gangoh, and Thana Bahawan. Delhi itself has been for nearly eight hundred years the centre of politics and great *Madrasahs* flourished under the guidance of famous divines such as Hadrat Shāh 'Abdul 'Azīz, son of Hadrat Shāh Wali Ullah, Hadrat Ismā'il Shāhid, Mufti Sadrudin. They belong to comparatively recent times. In U.P. there were schools and colleges at Agra, Bijnor, Ambala, Kara, Dewa, Shah-Jahānpur, Sambhal, Sandila, Bareilly, Badaun, Jaunpur, many schools at Lucknow, Kachhocha, Faizabad, Bahraich and Rampur, Sattrakh-Barabanki, Baran; Kol, Sarai Mir, Azamgarh, Nizamabad, Radāuti, Bilgram, Kakori, Ghazipur, Syedpur, Shampur.

It need hardly be pointed out that this countrywide network of *Madrasahs* and *Jāmi'is* which lit up long vistas of ten brilliant centuries, was sustained by the labour of legions of eminent savants and scholars who hailed from all parts of the Muslim world. They were to begin with the earliest pioneers of Muslim learning in India, Mulla Shamsuddīn Khawāz-mī, and Koshji, Burhānuddīn Bazāz, Najmuddīn Damishqī, Kamaluddīn Zāhid, Zahiruddīn Bhakkrī, Farīduddīn Shafī, Hamīduddīn Mohiuddīn Kāshānī, Fakruddīn Hānswī, Wajīhuddīn Rāzī, Tajuddīn muqaddam, Qadī Fakruddīn and Sharfuddīn, Maulana Nāsiruddīn Ghānī, Mullah Zahiruddīn, Qadī, Mughisuddīn, Biana (Bharatpur), Maulana Rukunuddīn Sanamī, Maulana Kamāluddīn Koli, Mulla Tajuddīn Kulābī, Zahiruddīn Bhakkrī, Nāsiruddīn of Kara, Maulana Nāsiruddīn Sabrūnī 'Alāuddīn Tajar, Karīmuddīn, 'Alāuddīn Maloh, Iftikhāruddīn Baranī, Hisāmuddīn Sūrkh, Hisāmuddīn Ibnī-Shādī, Shahābuddīn Multanī, Fakr-ud-dīn Hānswī, Salāhuddīn 'Satrākhi, Qadī Zāinuddīn Nagla, Wajīhuddīn Qadī, Najībuddīn 'Sārī, Sadruddīn Gūndhak, 'Alāuddīn, Lahori, Shamsuddīn Yāhyā, Qadī Shahābuddīn Daulatabadī, Mulla 'Abdus Salam Dewā, Mulla Dānyal Charasī.

In addition to these, there were Mulla 'Abdul Qādir, Naqīb Khan; Mulla Sherī, Sultan Hājī Thanesrī and Shaikh Faizi, who were commissioned by Emperor Akbar to translate *Ramayan* and *Mahabharat* into Persian. Hājī Ibrahim Sarhindī, the translator of *Athar Veda*, Shaikh Faizi the translator of *Lilāvati*, Mukammāl Khān, the celebrated astronomer, Mulla Muhammad Beg and Shaikh Munāwar the Geographers, Nāsarullah Mustafā and Maulana Husain Qadī, the compiler of *Kalāla Damna (Panj Tantra)* Khwājah Husain Merwī, the translator of *Sanghasan Bathisi*, Shaikh Mubārak the Physiologist, Fateh Khān Shirāzī, 'Abdur Rahīm Khān-i-Khānān, all being members of the Majlis-ul-'Ulama, the Mughul version of a modern Academy of Arts and Science.

Toward the dissolution of the Mughul Empire the following 'Ulama adorned something like a hundred *Jami'is* which still survived. They were Shūh 'Abdul Qādir, Maulavi Maḥṣus Ullah, Maulwī 'Abdul Khāliq Shah Rafī-ud-dīn Shāh, Muḥammad Ishāq, Maulwī Rashiduddīn Maulwī, Karīm Ullah, Maulwī Nāsir-ud-Dīn, Sirāj-ul-'Ulamā Mufti Sayyid Rahmat 'Alī Khān Maulwī Karāmat 'Alī, Maulana Fadl-i-Haq Khairabādī and 'Allamā 'Abdullā Khān 'Alwī, to name only a few, whose names linger in memory.

## Madrasahs of Jaunpur:-

According to the authors of “*Riaz-i-Jaunpur*” and “*Tajalli-i-Nur*” both being authentic Histories of the intellectual activities of this famous city, there flourished in this one place alone no less than thirty colleges of Law and letters which were organised by some of the leading-most contemporary ‘Ulamas. They were the *Madrasahs* named after their founders, namely, the Madrasahs of Malik-ul-‘Ulama Qādī Shahābuddīn, Daulatabadī, those of Maulana Al-Hudā, Mulla Mahmūd, Mulla ‘Abdul Bāqī, Mulla Nūruddīn, Muftī Syed Mubārak, Mullah Hāfiz, Shāikh Hamid, Shaikh Muhammad, Mullah M‘amur, Mir Malik, Mulla Sadr Jahān, Mulla Shamsuddīn, Hāfiz Ghulam Shāh, Mīr Muhammad ‘Askari, Maulwī ‘Ataullah, Sayyid Dia-ud-Dīn K̲h̲ān, Maulwī Mu‘īnuddīn, Mulla Ustād-ul-Mulla, Shāikh Rukun-ud-Dīn, Mulla ‘Abdul Bāri Khidri, *Madrasahs* known as *Khanqah Madar*, Mulla Shāikh Sādiq, Mulla K̲h̲alil, Mulla Bābullah and lastly that of Mullah Jamil.

## Primary Education

Since these institutions were either Jami‘s analogous to our present day Universities or *Madrasahs*, that is to say colleges, there were in addition to them not only thousands but literally tens of thousands of *Maktabas* and smaller *Madrasahs* scattered over the length and breadth of the sub-continent. These were in the charge of the local Maulwīs, Mullahs, Mian-Jis or Pesh-Imams who discharged the usual duties attached to their office and earned their living by teaching to the village scholars. Education, both elementary and higher, was better looked after under Muslim rule than were similar institutions during the British regime and the States. That being the case, it would be no exaggeration to hold that before the advent of the British there prevailed a countrywide national system of education, even though lacking specifically Government patronage, which produced a far larger number of *Muntahis* and *Fadils*, than was done by the dozen odd Indian Universities constituted under state auspices and run on Western models.

## Residential character of these Institutions

Amazing as it might sound yet it is a fact that most of these private institutions which catered to public need of education, particularly the higher education analogous to present day University level, were residential *Madrasahs*. As a matter of fact, it was inconceivable for a Jami‘ or a *Madrasah* to be non-residential. In these places lived scholars

whose numbers ranged from hundreds to thousands who shared not merely the intellectual amenities but the social amenities of the *Alma mater*, such as boarding together and enjoying the company of teachers who in most cases were the living symbols of the principle of high thinking and simple living. In this connection I can't help recalling an event which sheds lustre on the *Madrassah* called *Fatehpuri* situated in the heart of Delhi of nearly a century ago. A Lahore convert to Islam, namely, Shaikh Mohiuddin of revered memory fired with the passion to acquire knowledge undertook a hike of three hundred arduous miles to Delhi.

This was before there were railways. He took a month to reach his destination and while wending his way towards *Chandni Chauk*, footsore and weary, he asked an elderly passerby the way to the *Fatehpuri*. The benign gentleman took hold of his travelling bag and led him to the spacious courtyard of the *Mosque—cum—Madrassah* and left him with a group of Pathan students who occupied a corner and himself went away to return with some food for him. The weary traveller from a distant land made inquiries about Maulana Nazir Hussain the famous *Mohaddith* of Delhi and the *Fatehpuri* Rector. 'It was the very one who has brought you hither,' answered the surprised scholars. Shaikh Mohiuddin was visibly moved to learn of the identity of the great 'Alim and exclaimed, "Truly God had been kind to me I have learnt my first lesson of a true Muslim life."

Shaikh Mohiuddin became in years to come a leader in the sphere of Islamic scholarship and counted among his friends and classmates the late Nawab Siddiq Hasan Khan of Bhopal, Tenku Ahmad bin Ja'far of Malaya and many others who come from the far corners of Asia. The residential character of Muslim Jami'a survives to this day in the great Jami' Azhar of Cairo within whose hospitable *Raḥaqs* foregather scholars from all parts of the Muslim world and furnish an idea of the essence of Islam.

#### The Architectural evidence of the residential Muslim Madrassah

Perhaps there could be no more eloquent evidence of the residential character of the Muslim *Jawam'* throughout the world, than their structural set up. From Timarlane's great Mosque at Samargand, with its vast court and annexes built to accommodate over five thousand odd scholars to the Jami' Fez of Moracco, the Jami' Amwi of Damascus and the Jami' Zaintunieh of Tunis and the *Shahi* Mosques of Delhi, Agra,

Lahore, Aligarh, Aurangabad, etc., with residential requirements limited to a few hundred boarders and in some cases the Masouleums, too, testify the fact that they were meant to serve as residential buildings for the generations of Muslim scholars who passed through their portals.

### Female Education :

No survey of education in pre-British India could be complete without detailed reference to the provisions relating to Female Education. It is true, that there did not exist public institutions for the diffusion of literacy among the girls. But it must not be over-looked that the education of girls was not taboo and women *Madhrassahs* set up in private homes of the well-to-do middle classes were about as numerous as *Mosque Maktab*s for boys. It must be within the knowledge of most of us that in all respectable Muslim homes a room was set apart which was used as a class room for the teaching of the Holy Quran and the imparting of instruction, in some cases to the minor girls belonging to the lower middle classes of the neighbourhood. The person who undertook the pious duty of imparting instructions was either the *Bibi Ji*, i.e., the Mistress of the house or *Ustani Ji*, lettered woman employed to do this work. This so-called primary school activity was confined to the genteel families, but among the nobility who lived in palaces, or *Deorhis*, the education of a girl was a very serious affair. Not only were learned women and sometime elderly men scholars employed to make the young ladies proficient in the *Ulm-i-Murawwajah*, according to contemporary standards, but even women amazons were commissioned to instruct the daughters of nobles in horsemanship, archery, use of spear and the sword, as also to teach them embroidery and needle work. Consequently the Muslim palaces in pre-British India were nurseries and educational centres for imparting training of a very high order to the daughters of the nobility. It would be no exaggeration to say therefore that if mosques and masoleums were used as colleges and Universities for male students, the palaces, *paigahs* and *deohris* served as training centres for well-to-do girls.

It is due to this tradition of higher learning for girls which flourished under Muslim rule in India, that we come across such names, as Maham Begum, the states womanly niece of Babar who joined him in all important deliberations of State, Dildar Begum, Salema Sultan, Babar's wife and Khanzadah Begum, her sister Gulbadan Begum, Humayun's scholarly sister, Ma'sum Begum, Babar's extremely acute and versatile daughter Hamidah Banu Begum, Humayun's Queen, Salima Sultan Begum, Bairam

Khan's wife noted for her keen knowledge of warfare and weapons Maham Anka, Akbar's foster mother and last and I imagine the greatest of them the talented *defacto* ruler of India during Jahāngir's regime, the peerless Nur Jahān. Most of these extremely refined ladies were noted scholars, poetesses and in some cases clever physicians and astute domestic philosophers all being distinguished graduates of what for want of better term I would call Palace Universities.

† It is pertinent to know why there existed a widespread desire for learning among the people, in the absence of State controlled educational policy or institutions. It may have been for two reasons. In the first place, in by gone days, acquisition of knowledge was considered a religious duty, a means to acquire personal culture, grace and social eminence and an end in itself, and in the second place, not merely the Government or the State, but the entire nation felt bound that knowledge must be acquired not because

کہ بے علم نہ توان زریں یافت

but because

کہ بے علم نتوان خدا را شناخت



## SOME CHISTI SAINTS OF BENGAL

The history of the consolidation and extension of Muslim Rule in India cannot be properly studied unless the factors that worked for cultural integration of the conquered territories are properly analysed and correctly interpreted. The Turks, Afghans and Mughals in the words of Titus "were destined to found an empire not only of kings and rulers who dwelt in crumbling forts and palaces, but more important still for the history of India, an empire of the heart reared upon the foundations of a new religious faith, whose ruler dwells in temples not made with hands." This kingdom of the heart was not built by soldiers alone but by our saints and theologians and it is in their lives and works that we have to look for that faith and selfless devotion to an ideal which made the empire of kings possible. That the Muslim mystics played a very important role in bringing about this cultural synthesis is a fact which can hardly be over-emphasised and which will be increasingly appreciated with more scientific and extensive historical researches. One can understand and explain away the military conquest of the contry by the Turks but the real problem is the proper analysis of the factors that made the stabilisation of foreign rule in India possible. The problem becomes more puzzling when we consider this consolidation of foreign rule was made by a people who had no moral or material support of their compatriots and who after the Mongol irruption in Central Asia were left high and dry in the midst of an hostile people. It was through their silent and unostentatious efforts that a peaceful atmosphere was created which contributed to a more harmonious relation-ship between the conqueror and the conquered.

The rise of provincial kingdoms in the Deccan and of Jaunpur, Malwa, Gujrat and Bengal is inexplicable except in the context of cultural revolution that preceded the rise of these dynasties. There is a tendency amongst historians to study the rise of these dynasties only as a political consequence of the decline of the central authority at Delhi. A more correct background to their study will be an examination of the cultural, revolution which made the formation of compact and flourishing provincial kingdoms possible. These provincial kingdoms, were not so much the result of the weakness of the central government as the expression of cultural vitality of those areas. If the rise of the Bahmani kingdom was made possible by the emigration of saints, scholars, literati and divines driven to the South by Sultan Muhammad bin Tughlaq, the independence

which Bengal attained much earlier was the result of the persistent and strenuous efforts made by the Chisti and Suhrawardi saints for the spread of Islam in that distant land and the rapid growth of an indigeneous Muslim population which vitalised the Muslim administration. Ashraf Jehangir in a letter mentions with pride that in the blessed land of Bengal there is hardly a village or town where a Muslim Sufi is not to be found and the innumerable graves of the Muslim mystics which dot the country are a silent testimony to their self-denying devotion to their ideal.

Bengal was conquered early in the 13th century but it took many decades before Muslim rule could be firmly established there. There was persistent effort made by the privileged Hindu classes to throw off the foreign yoke but as they lacked the moral support of the people at large and as the opposition honey-combed by mutual jealousies could never organise itself into a national movement, it could not dislodge the more competent and capable foreign army. The Hindu rajas, strewn all over the country followed what Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar calls the policy of bending like the supple cane under the pressure of the tide and becoming straight again when it passes over the country.

Unlike the South Bengal at first did not draw to itself men of learning and culture but sucked in military adventurers and free lances for the prospect it held out to those restless spirits to secure for themselves power, prestige and privilege. Later on Muslim divines and mystics migrated there in large numbers.

Amongst the first Muslim mystics and divines of any eminence to go to Bengal was one Jalaluddin Tabrizi who was literally forced out of Delhi by Najmuddin Suhra and his party. Unfortunately no detailed account of Shaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi's work in Bengal is available, but it is certain that he did considerable missionary work in Bengal. The author of *Siyar-ul-Arifin* informs us.<sup>2</sup>

“Shaikh-ul-Mashaikh Jalaluddin Tabrizi went to Bengal. All the people of that (place) turned towards him and became his disciples. The Shaikh established a *Khanqah* there and started a free *Kitchen*. He purchased some gardens and plots of land and endowed them for the expenses of the kitchen. He then proceeded further and reached the port of Deva Mahal. There

<sup>1</sup> The foreigners strengthened and established their hold.

<sup>2</sup> p. 171.

was a well there and the infidels had constructed a temple near it on which they had spent an enormous sum. The Shaikh destroyed that idol temple and built *takiah* there. Now his sacred grave is in the grounds of that idol-temple. Half the income of that port is reserved for the expenses of the kitchen.”

It may be of some interest to mention here that Jalaluddin whom Ibn-i-Battutah met in Bengal in 1345 and whom he sometimes calls Tabrezi and sometimes Shirazi was not this famous Jalaluddin who died in 1244.<sup>1</sup> The Saint whom Ibn-i-Battutah saw was the famous Shah Jalal, the traditional conqueror of Sylhet popularly known as *Ghazi Saheb*, the patron saint of the boatmen.<sup>2</sup>

The process of spiritual and moral conquest of Bengal started by Shaikh Jalaluddin was continued by later saint with the result that in Bengal now every second person is a Muslim, The Muslim population of Bengal exceeds in numbers the Muslims in Arabia, Persia and Turkey combined.

Amongst other *Silsilah* organizations set up in Bengal was that of the *Chishtis*. Maulana Sirajuddin Osman, affectionately addressed by the religious circles of Delhi as Akhi Siraj, came to Delhi from distant Lakhnauti and laid his head at the feet of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia, the most outstanding Chishti saint of the age. After the death of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia, he returned to his homeland and began to disseminate mystic lore. Amir Khurd informs us that he carried with him some books from the library of Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia for study and discussions.<sup>3</sup> This small collection of books constituted the first library of Islamic mysticism in Bengal and from the account of Amir Khurd, a friend and companion of Akhi Siraj, it appears that the Maulana succeeded in bringing round him a large number of people who flocked to his *khanqah* for light and guidance.

“ He illumined that place by his saintly radiance and the people of God began to secure initiation into his discipline. Even the rulers of that territory joined his order.....His grave is the *qibla* of India and his successors help the people of God up to this time. ”

<sup>1</sup> J. A. S. B. 1873 p. 2609.

<sup>2</sup> Stapleton and Tosaduq Ahmed ; *Dacca Review*. August 1813,

<sup>3</sup> *Siyar-al-Aulia*, p. 289.

The efforts of Shaikh Akhi Siraj, the "Mirror of India" as Shaikh Nizamuddin Aulia used to call him, and his disciples ushered in the dawn of a new era in the cultural annals of Bengal. Akhi Siraj established close contact with the people by keeping an open *kitchen* and extensive travels. His piety and devotion won the admiration of the people while his charity enormously increased his influence. His chief disciple Shaikh Alaul Haq kept the torch of his master burning and enhanced the prestige of the *silsilah* by his unbounded charity. Sultan Sikandar Ilyas Shah grew jealous of him and ascribed his unbounded charity to defalcations and misappropriation of state funds and banished him to Sonargaon. Two years later he returned to Pandua where he died in 1398 A.D. His son and successor Shaikh Nur Qutb-i-Alam developed the *silsilah* organization further. He established two centres for dissemination of mystic ideas—one at Karra-Manikpur and the other at Pandua. Shaikh Hussamuddin Manikpuri, a disciple of his was a man of exceptional talent. He sent his disciples far and near. Under Nur Qutb-i-Alam and his immediate disciples the *silsilah* struck its roots in the soil.

The *Chishti Khanqahs* were frequented by Hindus and Muslims alike. They became the first meeting ground where people of all shades of opinion assembled in free and frank association. The *Khanqahs* became the nucleus of the great movement for cultural synthesis which the *Chistis* has started. The influence of their work may be discerned in the sphere of a common language, development of religious ideas and social customs.

The greatest and the most significant contribution of the *Chishti* saints to the cultural life of Bengal was the encouragement they gave to the vernaculars. The point needs elucidation.

When the Mussalmans conquered Bengal, Buddhism was undergoing a complete transformation. Under Pala and Sena kings, Hindu revivalist movements gathered great momentum and Brahman supremacy with all its necessary concomitants—cast differences, image worship, etc., was on its ascendancy. The Brahman stood for Sanskrit and not only discouraged but opposed the growth of the language of the people. The growth of Bengali literature was made possible by these saints. Mr. Dinesh Chandra Sen has pointed out the debt which the Bengali language owes to the Mussalman rulers. If his studies are pursued further by

competent scholars it will be found the real contribution in that sphere was made by the saints who in order to make their message intelligible to the people adopted the popular language.

The Bengali language as Law has pointed out owes its literary status to Muslim rules. The first Bengali rendering of *Mahabharata* was made under the orders of Nasir Shah (1282-1325). Vidyapathi dedicated to him one of his songs. Emperor Husain Shah appointed Maladhar Basu to translate the *Bhagwati Purana* into Bengali. The example of the Sultan was followed by the nobles, Paragal Khan, a general of Hussain Shah and his son Chuttey Khan "made themselves immortal by associating their names with the Bengali translation of a portion of the *Mahabharata*".<sup>1</sup>

The letters of Shaikh Nur Qutbi Alam do not make a secret of the way in which mystic ideas were disseminated in Bengal. Explanation of the doctrine of *Wahdat-ul-Wajud* is the main theme of his letters. The Hindu theistic movement that started in Bengal was the direct result of the contact with the Muslim mystics. The indebtedness of Chaitanya and his disciples to the contemporary Chishti saints of Bengal can be appreciated only by a comparative study of the writings of both the groups. It were men like these who attempted to bring about an approximation between Hindu and Muslim faiths.

Most of the Dargahs and Khanqahs of these saints stand on the ruins of Hindu and Buddhist places of worship. This fact has been thus interpreted by a modern (Hindu) writer.<sup>2</sup> "This served the double purpose of preventing the revival of these places of heathen sanctity, and later on, of installing themselves as the guardian deities with tales of pious fraud invented by popular imagination. Hindus who had been accustomed for centuries to venerate these places gradually forgot their past history, and easily transferred their allegiance to the *pirs* and *ghazis*. The result of this approachment in the domain of faith ultimately created a more tolerant atmosphere which kept the Hindus indifferent to their political destiny. It prepared the ground for further inroads of Islam into Hindu society, particularly among the lower classes who were gradually won over by assiduous and persistent propaganda regarding the miracles of these saints and *ghazis*,".

<sup>1</sup> Mr. D. C. Sen's, *History of Bengali literature*, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 69-70.

However, this cultural synthesis gave political stability to Bengal—a place which Ibn-i-Battutah, with the penetrating intelligence of a world—trotter had designated as “Heaven full of things.” The mystic efforts turned this “Hell” into a ‘Heaven.’ Bengal attained great prosperity under the independent kings. Forts and public buildings were erected, mosques, colleges, students’ hostels, travellers guest houses and *Khanqahs* were established in all parts of the kingdom. Brisk trade was carried on along the seaboard of Bengal with the Arab sea-ports of Basra and Baghdad.<sup>1</sup>

Shaikh Nur Qutbi Alam who has been mentioned above was the central figure of the *Chishti silsilah* in Bengal in the 15th Century. As long as he lived his efforts were directed to preserve the stability and solidarity of Muslim political and social organisations. He checked fissiparous tendencies in the ranks of the Mussalmans themselves and when he found Muslim political power assailed by internal militant Hindu movements, he left no stone unturned in awakening and vitalising Muslim resistance to this danger. In one of his letters he informs a fellow-mystic about some conflict amongst the Mussalmans in Panduah and requests him to use his good offices to resolve that conflict.

“It is clear to you that Islam has got involved in a crisis. May God protect this city from all calamities and misfortunes. At such times differences between Mussalmans and disobedience of the Imam will create chaos and confusion.”<sup>2</sup>

The danger referred to above probably refers to the ascendancy of Ganesh Rai who later on assumed regal power and threatened to extinguish Muslim rule in Bengal. In this very letter he emphasises the need of obeying the orders of the king.

“Obeying the tradition and sayings of the Prophet and the (advice) of the *Chishti* saints, you should remove suspicion from (their) hearts and ask them to obey the king.”<sup>3</sup>

The career of Nur Qutub-Alam, one of the leading saints of Bengal, deserves a more detailed examination particularly because his name is connected with the rise of Ganesh who first secured complete ascendancy

<sup>1</sup> *Riyazus Salatin*, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> *Maktubat-i-Qutb-i-Alam* (miss.)

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

over the successors of Ghyasuddin of Bengal and later became independent. It was the intervention of the ruler of Jaunpur at the instance of Nūr Qutb-i-Alam that the Muslim dynasty was saved from extinction by the timely arrival of the army of that king.

Nur Qutb-i-'Alam was the son of Shaikh 'Alauddin 'Alaul Haq. The date of his birth cannot be fixed with certainty but he lived to a ripe old age and died in 818 A.D. The date of his death as shown by the chronogram نور به نور شد may be accepted as reliable in preference to the year 854 which the author of *Khazinatul Asfia* has given. Nur Qutub-i-'Alam belonged to a rich and well placed family and he himself appears to have enjoyed a privileged position in society. No incidents of his early life are recorded except the deep devotion and self denying attachment to the *Khankah* of his father and those who visited it. He is reported to have studied with Ghyāthuddīn the ruler of Bengal and it was because of this early association with the Sultan, and the privileged position of his family that he later on took an active interest in politics and drew upon himself and his family the wrath of the usurper Ganesh Rai.

Raja Ganesh is an interesting figure in medieval history of Bengal. The author of *Ryazus Salatin* designates him by the name of Raja Kans perhaps deliberately as he paints him as a cruel and bigoted tyrant. This is perhaps an instance of transferred reproach by giving the Rai a name which is held in detestation by the Hindus. In the letters of Nur Qutub-e-'Alam and those of Ashraf Jahangir also, he is represented as a blood-thirsty tyrant who was bent on extirpating Muslim rule in Bengal and started with a senseless persecution and assassination of leading Muslim mystics and divines. Ferishta gives him a good certificate and speaks of him as a ruler who though a Hindu maintained cordial relations with the Musulmans and was a beneficent and generous ruler. Hindu contemporary accounts are silent about him, and the mystery is heightened by a complete absence of contemporary numismatic and epigraphic evidence.

I do not propose to open the controversy over the name, origin or native place of Ganesh, but what was the exact position of this obscure but capable and energetic administrator in the political scene of the time? During and after death of the 'Jocunnd but able ruler' Ghyasuddin the Hindu chiefs appear to have been much favoured and many of them attained to positions of eminence and prestige in the administration of

Bengal. A close alliance amongst Muslims and landed aristocracy became a political and military urgency when Bengal was threatened by Firuz Shah. The ascendancy of Hindu chiefs became more evident when Muslim foreign immigration into Bengal stopped and the Muslim rulers weakened by a gradual depiction and dilution of their stock had to lean more and more on the indigenous nobility. Of these one Ganesh Rai who is spoken of by some as a zamindar of Bhaturiah and by others as a 'Zamindar of Dinajpur appears to have attained complete ascendancy over Saifuddin Hamza Shah. The latter was a mere puppet in the hands of Ganesh. Saifuddin died in 814 and was succeeded by one Shihabuddin, the adopted son of Saifuddin. Shihabuddin died after a short and inglorious reign and it was after the death of Hamza Shah the Raja Ganesh subjugated according to *Riaz-us-Salatin* the whole kingdom of Bengal and began to oppress the Muslims. It is at this stage that Nur Qutub-e-'Alam comes in. The following points deserve careful consideration. Did Ganesh Rai actually secure the submission of the whole Bengal? There is no evidence to accept this statement of *Riyaz*. All that the author implies is that the Rai became the defacto ruler in the kingdom and the power behind the throne. There was strong Muslim military aristocracy in Bengal and usurpation by Ganesh if it had been open and effective would have certainly met with opposition by the privileged classes. No such opposition is recorded. The re-establishment of Hindu supremacy in Bedgal for 7 years would have made the country ring with the exploits of Ganesh who would have come down to posterity as another Rana Paratab or Sivaji. I am therefore inclined to believe that Ganesh secured supreme power in the state profiting by the incompetence and weakness of the successors of Ghyah<sup>2</sup> and also because he received assistance from Muslim military aristocracy. His position may be likened to that of another Hemu or Khusraw but he was certainly not a liberator of his country and his people from foreign yoke.

The saint Nur Qutab-e-'Alam is reported to have addressed the following petition to Ibrahim Sharqi. I have not found this letter in a mutilated and incomplete collection which is in the library of Aligarh Muslim University. *Riaz* gives the text of this letter :—

"The ruler of this country, named Kans, is an infidel. He is committing oppressions, and shedding blood. He has killed many of the learned and holy men, and destroyed them. At present, he is aiming to kill the remainder of the Muslamans, and to extirpate Islam from this country.



Since to help and protect Musalmans is a duty incumbent on Muslim sovereigns, accordingly I intrude on your valuable time with these few lines. I pray for your auspicious arrival here for the sake of the residents of this country, and also in order to oblige me, so that Mussalmans may be rescued from the oppressive load of this tyrant. Peace be on you."

He also wrote to the saint Ashraf Jahāngir whose intervention and help he sought in persuading Ibrahim Shah Sharqi to lead an Army to Bengal and chastise Ganesh. In this letter Nūr Qutb-i-'Alam primarily refers to the humiliation and persecution to which his family the "alai and khalidi family" was being subjected by the infidel Ganesh and incidentally only to the oppression and degradation of Islam and Muslims in Bengal. Ashraf Jahāngir immediately wrote to Ibrahim Sharqi to go to the help of the Mussalmans of Bengal and relieve their distress. He also advised the *Sharqi* ruler that he should march to Bengal to give succour to the family of Nur Qutb-e-Alam and not for any territorial acquisition and the army was to be directed to behave in a manner as not to prejudice or permanently harm the family of Nūr Qutb-i-'Alam or the Muslim populace of Bengal. It will thus appear that the main concern of Ibrahim is to help Nur Qutb-i-'Alam.

Why and how did the saint incur the evil eye of Ganesh? Of the leading Muslim families Nur Qutb-i-'Alam's family was the most influential in Bengal. The family had on a previous occasion also fallen foul of the Muslim ruler of Bengal who suspected the family of having hoarded considerable wealth. Nur Qutub-i-'Alam evidently did not fall in with the wishes of Ganesh to become a party to a Hindu adventurer securing prominent position in the state. The saint would not bend and Ganesh decided to break him by persecuting members of his family as he dare not touch the head of the family. That there was a lack of unity amongst the Muslims and that they did not implicitly obey the authority of the ruler is established by one of his letters which I have quoted elsewhere. That this was not the only time that Nur Qutub-i-'Alam fell foul of the government is shown by a not very dignified appeal that he made of the *wazir* to intercede on his behalf with the king and clear him up of the charges against him. The events that followed are well-known. Ibrahim marched against Bengal and Ganesh Rai was so frightened that he made his submission to Nur Qutb-i-'Alam, sought his forgiveness and requested him to persuade Ibrahim to withdraw his army. The saint acceded to the Kai's request on promise of his young son being converted to Islam

and the Rai desisting in future from oppressing his subjects. Ibrahim who was accompanied by his famous Qādi Shāhābuddīn does not appear to have appreciated this intervention as he thought he was being made a fool of and retired in great dudgeon. He is reported to have died soon after as a result of having incurred the displeasure of Nur-Qutb-i-'Alam by his discourtesy at this juncture.

Jadunath Sarkar finds it difficult to accept Ibrahim of Jaunpur as being the ruler who came to the assistance of the Muslims of Bengal. This view is not correct as chronologically Ibrahim was the contemporary of Ganesh and Nur Qutub-e-'Alam. Further, this does not by itself materially effect the conduct or position of the principal actors in this interesting episode in the history of Bengal. That this great Rai who had reconquered Bengal submitted so quickly and made such an abject submission to his former victim shows the extent of the hold Ganesh had over the country, and the precariousness of his position.

Ganesh refused to keep his part of the contract after the retirement of the army of Jaunpur. He had his son reconverted from Islam and again persecuted the son and nephew of Nur Qutb-e-'Alam. This probably happened after the death of Nur Qutub-e-'Alam, the one man whom Ganesh would not use as a tool of his ambition or use for his own interests. Whatever personal or sordid motives Nur Qutb-i-Alam may have had, his intercession saved Muslim Bengal from being submerged in the rising tide of militant revivalist Hindu movement in Bengal, and nipped the same in the bud.

## SHAIKH 'ABDUL QUDDUS OF GANGOH

In view of the ever-widening scope of history which may conveniently be described as man's effort to know himself, it has become necessary for its students to extend the arena of their research in all directions. So far we have mostly concentrated on the study of contemporary historical literature which is fairly extensive for the Mughul period and is not inadequate even for the earlier centuries of Muslim rule in the sub-continent. The inevitable consequence of neglecting what one may call indirect source-material is an over-emphasis on the biographical side of history which appears to be the main feature of our achievement in this field. But to re-write our history in its truest perspective and from a purely objective point of view we shall have to examine very carefully all available sources of information, however indirect they might appear to be. Perhaps one of the most valuable but most inadequately studied of these sources is the Sufistic literature of medieval Hind-Pakistan. I need not dilate upon the importance of the role that mystic philosophy has played in shaping the channels of Islamic thought in the medieval ages. In this sub-continent, too, the influence of the *Sufis* seems to have permeated all phases of society, and although as a matter of principle they seemed to keep themselves aloof from the hum-drum of political life, their disregard for comfort and pleasures on the one hand and their tolerance and broadmindedness on the other made their *khanqah* a place of universal attraction. Prince Khidr Khan, eldest son of Sultan 'Alāuddīn, for example, was a disciple of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā. Amīr Khusraw refers to this when he says :

خضر دستش گرفت و خضر خاں پائے

It may be added here that to undergo the discipline of a *khanqah* was a necessary course for the purification of the heart even for reputed scholars. This is why we find that a large number of learned persons had entered the circle of the disciples of Shaikh Nizamuddīn Auliā. The Shaikh showed them special regard by allowing them to sit in front of others\*. It would be interesting to note that if a scholar was expected to undergo the discipline of a *khanqah* for a *darwesh* also it was considered a necessary qualification to acquire knowledge, This principle was laid down by Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliā in the words :†

اول درجه درین کار علم است

\* *Siyarul Aulia*, p. 202 من نخواهم که هیچ تجعدی بالاتر متعمم به نشیند

† *ibid*, p. 288.

and by Shaikh Farīduddīn Ganj-shakar in the words :<sup>1</sup>

درویش را قدرے علم باید

Another feature of the life of these *Shaikhs* was that they wanted to convey the message of Islam to the masses through their personal example and not by precept alone. We find a clue to this in the *Fawaidul Fanad* of Amīr Hasan. He relates an incident that a Muslim disciple took a Hindu friend to assembly of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Aulia and said that he had brought him in the hope that through the *Shaikh's* attention he might accept Islam. The *Shaikh* replied that it would be no use preaching to such people through words only, but

اماگر صحبت صالح بیابد امید باشد که به برکت صحبت او مسلمان شود<sup>2</sup>

This leads us to one conclusion only. The efforts of those who had confined themselves to preaching by precept only had met with little success, and therefore these *Sufis* wanted to win over the hearts of the people through personal piety and tolerance. Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Aulia is stated to have mentioned this in unambiguous language which may be reproduced in Amīr Khusraw's words

هرچه علما بزبان دعوت کنند مشائخ به عمل دعوت کنند<sup>3</sup>

A necessary corollary of these missionary labours of the '*ulama* and the *mashaikh* was their anxiety to see that the government of the time was based on the principles of the *Shar'*. We now come to a very important question: whether we had any constitutional law in medieval Hind-Pakistan. It is obvious that there existed no constitutions in the statutory sense of the term. In fact the practice of making constitutions is essentially modern. If however constitution means what Lord Bryce calls 'a frame of political society, organized through and by law' then it has existed and in fact must exist in all countries where people follow and practise Islam. The life of the people in Muslim lands was based on and regulated by certain fundamental principles laid down by the *Quran*. One of these principles was the recognition of the paramount sovereignty of Allah and therefore the supremacy of the Divine Law. No one, not even the reigning monarch, was above it, because public opinion was always

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> If he becomes associated with a pious man it may be hoped that through the beneficence of his association he might become a Muslim.

<sup>3</sup> Whatever the '*ulama* preach in words the *mashaikh* preach by action.

emphatically in favour of its supremacy.<sup>1</sup> Some of the modern scholars have laid emphasis on the policy of the secularization of the state by Sultan 'Alāuddīn Khaljī and have created a great misunderstanding with regard to the basic foundations of Muslim society in this sub-continent. The violation of the laws of *Shar'* by some monarchs was the exception and not the rule. A careful examination of 'Alāuddīn's conversation with Qadi Mughith for instance which has been repeatedly quoted by these writers will show that the Sultan's attitude was apologetic. He wanted to justify his conduct on the score of expediency.<sup>2</sup> It should be remembered that the secularization of an Islamic state like the Delhi Sultanate was just not possible, firstly because it had never been ecclesiastical, and secondly because the essential element on which it was based, namely the ideology of Islam, cannot be separated from it. A society as conceived by Islam could not tolerate the possibility of a government which was superior to law how-ever powerful and strong its head might be. We are told that Sultan Muhammad-bin Tughluq was a tyrant and an irresponsible despot. Ibn Battutah speaks of him as one who was "generous beyond limit in awarding gifts and also shedding blood". Let us see how the machinery of this "tyrant" Sultan works in "shedding blood". I would like to quote the original words of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*.<sup>3</sup>

همچنین روایت می کنند که در کشتن و سیاست بحدی اهتمام داشت که چهار نفر مفتی را درون کوشک خانها داده بود - هر که را که به تهمت می گرفت اول از جهت سیاست او با مفتیان مذکور گفتار می کرد و ایشان را گفته بود اگر کسی ناحق کشته شود و شما در گفتن حق از جانب او تقصیر کنید خون آن کس در گردن شما باشد -،،

After referring to the Sultan's practice of giving a fair trial to the accused, the historian who is suspicious of the royal intention says:

و این رعایت شرع معلوم نیست که از جهت آرام خلق می کرد یا سببی دیگر داشت

<sup>1</sup> For a brief but authoritative exposition of this point see 'The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi' by Dr. I. H. Qureshi, pp. 42-43.

<sup>2</sup> Barani's words are.

و من در هر چه صلاح ملک می بینم و مصلحت وقت مرا دران مشاهده می شود حکم می کنم و نمی دانم که خدای تعالی فردا قیامت بر من چه خواهد کرد -

(*Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi*, p. 296)

<sup>3</sup> Calcutta edition, p. 115.

In short it would not be an exaggeration to say that the enforcement of the laws of *Shar'* was the primary duty of the monarch and his government and that every section of society exercised its moral influence, and if necessary force also\*, to persuade and oblige the reigning prince to remain within the limits of the Law. Some of the well-known *Sufis* have also made a 'valuable contribution in this respect both through direct contact with the monarchs and indirectly by training the people in a particular manner. Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs of Gangoh was one of these widely respected *Sufis* belonging to the *Chishtiah silsilah*.

We possess very few details of his life, but on the basis of stray references in his own works as well as in some other books it would be just possible to get an idea of his outlook and activities. His date of birth is not mentioned anywhere but as he died in 994 A. H.<sup>1</sup> when he was eighty-four<sup>2</sup> years old we can safely put his birth in or about 860 A. H.<sup>3</sup> He had great faith in Shaikh Ahmad 'Abdul Haq of Radauli,<sup>4</sup> and got himself enrolled as a disciple of his grandson. Of his leaving the township of Radauli and going over to Shahabad, near Delhi, we have an interesting account preserved in the words of his own son, Shaikh Ruknuddin in the *Lataifi-Quddusiah*<sup>5</sup> 'Umar Khan Sarwani, a noble man, of Sultan Buhlul Lodhi was in the service of Prince Nizam Shah who later became king with the title of Sultan Sikandar. For reasons not mentioned by the writer he fell out with the Prince and tried to go over to the camp of his brother Barbak Shah. Here too however he was unable to win the favour of the Prince. Thus he was forced "to seek refuge with the darweshes".<sup>6</sup> Soon after he obtained pardon from Prince Nizam Shah and was restored to office. In the early years of Sultan Sikandar's reign disorder seems to have spread over parts of Oudh. In Radauli, Shaikh Ruknuddin informs us, the Muslims had become so helpless that they could not stop bacon being publicly sold in the bazaars. Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs therefore left Radauli and accepting the request of 'Umar Khan decided to settle down in

\* In the case of Khusraw Khan, for instance.

<sup>1</sup> *Lataifi-Quddusiah*, preface. p. 3.

The well known *Akhbarul Akhyar* gives 945 A. H.

<sup>2</sup> *Anwarul 'Arifin*, p. 357.

<sup>3</sup> This means five years after the accession to power of Sultan Buhlul Lodhi, which took place in 855 A. H.

(*Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Lucknow ed, p. 151)

<sup>4</sup> He died in 836 A. H.

<sup>5</sup> *Latifah*, XXXV.

<sup>6</sup> در خاطر گذشته که پناه درویشان بگیریم

Shahabad. This must have taken place in 896, for it was about one year before the birth of Ruknuddin, which he puts in 897 A. H. For more than thirty-eight years the family lived at Shahabad. But in 932 A. H. it was pillaged by Babar's soldiers on their way to Panipat.<sup>1</sup> and the family of Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs decided to move to Gangoh where he remained till his death, twelve years later.

Shaikh Ruknuddin tells us that when Dipalpur was plundered and a number of *Shaikhs* and 'Ulama were massacred there his father left the place and crossed the Jumna and came to Kutana which was just opposite to the camp of the Sultan on the other side of the river. On hearing that the *Shaikh* was so near his camp Sultan Ibrahim contacted him and insisted that he should accompany him to the field of battle.<sup>2</sup> Shaikh 'Abdul Quddūs was not in a position to refuse. He sent his family eastward<sup>3</sup> and joined the Afghan camp along with his eldest son, Hamiduddin. We are told by his son that the *Shaikh* was certain of the doom awaiting Sultan Ibrahim. However, he had to go to the scene of action where he was arrested after the defeat of the Afghans and was ordered by the Mughul soldiers to walk the entire distance from Panipat to Delhi. At the age of seventy-four it must have been a terrible ordeal but the old *Shaikh* bore it with patience. We do not possess any details of the *Shaikh's* movements before or after this incident ; but Shaikh Ruknuddin tells us that

هر بار که آمدن محمد بابر بادشاه می شد تمام ولایت می گریخت و غارت می شد و مارا محل قرار گریزگاه همین قصبه گنگوه بود<sup>4</sup> -

It is difficult to say exactly when the Shaikh took up permanent residence at Gangoh, although a later authority makes a positive assertion that it was on the destruction of Shahabad that he shifted his family from there.<sup>5</sup> Some statements of the *Lataif* however indicate that it must have taken

<sup>1</sup> The historians mention Shahabad (not far from Delhi as one of the places near which Babur had made a halt but they are silent about its plunder. Shaikh Ruknuddin, however clearly says.

چون بادشاهی افغانان رفت و حضرت محمد بابر مغل بادشاه شد

شاه آباد غارت و ویران شد

See *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Nawal Kishore, ed. p. 185,

<sup>2</sup> From the words *Lataif-i-Quddusiah* it appears that Sultan called on him personally.

<sup>3</sup> Actually طرف هندوستان *Lataif*, p. 64.

<sup>4</sup> *Latifah* L XXVI.

<sup>5</sup> *Anwarul 'Arifin*, p. 358

place more than a year before the battle of Panipat.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless so far is certain that Babur seems to have realized soon after his victory over the Afghans that the *Shaikh* was a venerable man known for his piety and learning. This is clear from the fact that the letter of the *Shaikh* addressed to Babur and preserved in the collection of his disciple, Mian Khan of Jaunpur, is full of advice with regard to his conduct as a ruler.

The letter begins as was the usual practice in those days with praises of God and blessings on the Prophet. It is noteworthy that in the opening sentence the sovereignty of God is referred to.<sup>2</sup> This in itself is very important, for it is the most fundamental doctrine of Islamic political philosophy. Then follows its natural corollary, namely, the supremacy of the *Shar'*, which the *Shaikh* introduces in an excellent manner. He praises Babur for enforcing the *Shar' Mahammadi* and meting out a generous treatment to men of piety and learning. After emphasizing the need and importance of the patronage of learning by the princes he makes a specific request that the stipends (وجه معاش) of the '*Ulama*, the *imams* and the old persons should be exempted from '*ushr*, for he says, it would be unwise to beg anything of a beggar. Gradually he becomes stiffer in his tone and tells the monarch that its imposition would be a source of injustice that might make the world dark and bring about total ruin of the poorer classes. He reminds his royal addressee that this life is mortal and that the best way of thanking the Almighty God was to give justice to the people. His words are :—

و باید و سزد که برائے شکر نعمت منعم سایه عدل بر عالیمان چنان  
کشند هیچ کس بر هیچ کس ظلم نکند و هم خلق و هم سپاه باو امر و  
نواهی شرع مستقیم بوند نماز بجماعت بگذا رند و علم و علما را دوست  
دارند و در بازار هر شهر محاسبان بگردند تا شهر و بازار را بجمال عدل  
شرع محمدی بیارائند و روشن و منور گردانند -

This passage indicates that the *Shaikh* was very particular about the enforcement of the *shar'*. Equally important is the fact that the *Shaikh* was able to establish his influence at the court and on the new emperor to such an extent that he could advise him in rather strong language. It appears Babur must have soon become impressed with his piety and influence, and as he was himself a patron of religion and learning he must

لدا الحکمہ والید ترجعون<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Latifah* LXXVIII.



have not only granted him personal freedom but also allowed him to carry on the work of guiding the people. What strikes us more is that the first two emperors of the Mughul dynasty continued to show him all this regard and in fact sought his advice,<sup>1</sup> in spite of the fact that the *Shaikh's* family was in active sympathy with their Afghan adversaries. The compiler of the *Lataif-Quddusiah* seems to have joined the retinue of the recalcitrant Afghan chiefs in the east.

The two letters of the *Shaikh* addressed to Humayun were also written in the same strain and from the same point of view as the one mentioned above. I do not propose to deal with them in detail here, but they also throw much light on the type of the government that the intelligentsia of that age wanted to be set up in the sub-continent.

Before I conclude this account of the *Shaikh's* life I would like to touch one more point. Some scholars have tried to establish that the popularity of *Sufism* in Indo-Pakistan was the result of the impact of Hindu ideas and their influence on Indian Islam. This is hardly correct and is certainly wrong in the case of the earlier *Sufis*. They were not only averse to taking anything from the Hindu philosophy, particularly religious thought, but were as emphatic on the question of the establishment of *Shar'* as any other section of the Muslim population could be. There are numerous references in the letters of Shaikh 'Audul Quddūs and also in the *Lataif-i-Quddusiah* which give us a fairly good idea as to how particular he was in advising his disciples and friends about their strict observance of the laws of *Shar'*. As many of these letters were addressed to men of consequence who held offices of trust and responsibility<sup>2</sup> there can be no doubt that his views played an important role in regulating the contemporary set-up of the society. To the leading-most of his *Khalifahs*—Shaikh Jalaluddin—he writes in very strong language that the observance of *Shar'* was indispensable. After condemning the actions of those who are not particular about this he instructs him in these words:<sup>3</sup>

پسر در طاعت مستقیم باش و در شرع مستدیم که صفای باطن را  
و نجات آن جهان را امروز ما را جز شرع حجت نیست

<sup>1</sup> About Humayun Abul Fadl says that he used to go to the Shaikh to seek guidance, *Ain-i-Akbari*, p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> For example: Shaikhzadah 'Imad Farmuli, Khan 'Azam Dilawar Khan, besides Sikandar Lodhi and the first two Mughul emperors. For 'Imad Farmuli see *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, p. 159.

<sup>3</sup> Letter, 142.

From what has been said about him in the above lines it can be concluded that Shaikh's 'Abdul Quddūs had an unassailable position in the highest social circles of the day. Everybody had a regard for his learning and piety. Of Humayun's visits to the *Shaikh's* house we have recorded historical evidence in histories, such as the *Ain-i-Akbari* in addition to books on hagiography. There can be no doubt of the Lodhi Sultans having called upon him because with them his relations were cordial from the very beginning. The confidence of the Mughul emperors once created also seems to have soon become unshakable, for although the second son of the *Shaikh*, Ruknuddin, with Dattu as his pet name, appears to have remained in the opposite camp of the Afghans until the Gujrat campaigns of Humayun, the *Shaikh* was all this time in a position to advise the founder of the Mughul empire and, later on, his son with regard to their internal and administrative policy.

In conclusion I might add that what has been briefly stated here about the *Shaikh's* views and his work as a reformer and teacher is enough to rouse our interest in his personality. I have no doubt that if we make a careful study of the lives and books of the well-known *Sufis* and broaden the scope of our research we shall discover many new things which will help us in solving some of the complicated problems of our history.

## THE ATTITUDE OF THE CHISHTI SAINTS TOWARDS POLITICAL POWER.

*Shaikhs* and *Sufis*, following in the wake of Muslim merchants and soldiers, came from the West to the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent both by land and by sea. They brought with them the fervour, devotion and piety acquired by long discipline and discipleship of their spiritual masters and the experience gained by travel and pilgrimage to the holy places of Islam. Their simple living and simple teachings attracted the people to their fold. By the middle of the 13th century A. C. there was hardly any place in this sub-continent where the disciples of Muslim saints could not be found. Amīr Hasan Sijzī, a famous poet and writer of this period mentions in his book '*Fawaid-ul-Fawaid*,' a number of *Sufi* Orders existing in his time. Today, more than two-third of the Muslim population and a large number of non-Muslims in this sub-continent are under the influence of one or the other of the various *Silsilahs*, the most prominent among these being the *Chishtiah*. This was the first to reach this sub-continent and has influenced its culture more than any of the *Silsilahs*.

Its origin is traced to Hazrat 'Alī. But it derives its name from Chisht a town near Herat,<sup>1</sup> where it was probably planted by a Syrian Muslim mystic, Shaikh Abu Ishāq in the last decade of the 8th or in the beginning of the 9th century A. C.<sup>2</sup> It was introduced in this sub-continent by Shaikh Mu'inuddīn Chishtī at the close of the 12th century A. C.<sup>3</sup>

It took root in the soil and developed principles with which the *Chishtis* at home had little to do. The Chishtī *Silsilah* of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent is an institution of purely local growth.

The principles of Sufism had been laid down long before the advent of the *Chishtī Silsilah* in this sub-continent. This *Silsilah* like other ones was the product, not a creator, of the great *Sufi* movement. Mission of its members was neither to expound its principles nor to write books but to show how the mystic life should be lived and how one should help others to live it.

One of the principles of *Sufism* is to avoid the courts of kings and nobles. The *Chishtis* of the 13th and the 14th centuries worked upon this

<sup>1</sup> *Hudud-al-Alam*. (Eng. Trans.) Gibb Memorial Series. p. 343.

<sup>2</sup> *Nafhatul Uns* of Jāmi, Newalkishore Press Lucknow, p. 296.

<sup>3</sup> *Siyarul Auliya*. p. 65.

principle wholeheartedly and without reservation. At the back of this attitude was the conviction that Government, in fact political power, in all its forms was a thing of sin, and association with people in authority was apt to ruin the moral and spiritual independence of the mystics. When Saidi Maula, a *Durwesh* from the northern climes, who was latter on killed at the instigation of Sultan Jalaluddin Khalji, was taking leave of Shaikh Fariduddin Ganjshakar on his way to Delhi the famous *Shaikh* sounded to him a word of caution—"Saidi : You are going to Delhi to open a door and to become famous. Do what you consider best for yourself under the circumstances. But remember one last advice of mine: Do not associate with *Maliks* and *Amirs* ; consider their coming to your house a mortal calamity, for the *durwesh* who opens the door of association for *Maliks* and *Amirs* is ruined in the end."<sup>1</sup> During greater parts of the 13th and the 14th centuries, these sentiments of the *Shaikh* have continued to re-echo in the *Silsilah-i-Chishtia*.

Two things, property and power, were considered to demoralise man's character. The Government, the Chistis did not consider any political organisation after the Pious Caliphate to be 'State'—was the emblem of both. The Hadith—"The thing eliminated last from the minds of the truthful is love of status," was often cited in the discussion. On being informed that a *Malik*, who was being kicked and punished on account of the demands made on him by the Government, had sent him his respects, Shaikh Nasiruddin Chiragh of Delhi remarked very calmly, "Government service bears such fruits, specially in these days."<sup>2</sup> The oppression of the people by the officers of the state was a phenomenon too common to escape unnoticed. "When a man obtains a minor government office, he treats the creatures of Allah as it pleases him and is not afraid of injuring the hearts of men. After all, the sobs of men's hearts have some effect."<sup>3</sup> If misfortunes overtook officer of the Government, they must consider that they were themselves to blame. On another occasion, when a Government servant who was released from prison owing to his prayears (or intercession) came to thank him next morning, Shaikh Nasiruddin observed. "If a thorn pricks a man's foot or an ant bites him, he must know that it is the result of his own action ..... And no misfortune overtakes you but it is what your hands have earned."<sup>4</sup> (The

<sup>1</sup> Ziauddin Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, p. 209.

<sup>2</sup> *Khair-ul-Majalis*, Majlis XXIV.

<sup>3</sup> *Khair-ul-Majalis*, Majlis XXXI.

<sup>4</sup> *Khair-ul-Majalis*, Majlis XXXVI.

Quran). The defect really lay with the social order ; the Government merely took advantage of these defects." What time is this?" Shaikh Nasiruddin said, comparing his own days with the early days of Islam, " If a man prospers, he will turn his back on his neighbours ; if his neighbours are starving, he will not like the smell of his food to reach their nostrills."<sup>1</sup>

"Power corrupts," Lord Acton has said, "absolute power corrupts absolutely". Writers on political history will express various opinions about the merits and demerits of the administration of the early Muslim Empire in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. But to the *Chishti* mystics it was like all Governments a wicked system which a man anxious for his and spiritual salvation would not touch. "I have read in the '*Umdah* of Shaikh Junaid' Shāikh Farid says in the *Asar-ul-Auliya*. "that the mystics of all religions are prohibited from mixing with worldly men and from associating with the Sultans and *Maliks* ..... When a man claims to be a mystic and goes to *Maliks* and *Amirs*, so that he may have some worldly gain for his necessary expenses, you are to know for certain that such a *durwesh* has no spiritual gifts; otherwise he would have never gone to the door of other creatures (like himself) for help."<sup>2</sup>

Here as elsewhere, the *Chishti Silsilah* finds its most definite expression in Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliya. Only persons who are independent of the Government can afford to maintain their self-respect, and the *Shakh* quotes with approval the remark of a mystic, Shaikh 'Ali, to a Caliph who had visited his *Khankah* but was annoyed to find that the *Shaikh* had not treated him with obsequious respect which was universally paid to the head of the Government; "I have withdrawn my hands and can, therefore, afford to extend my feet."<sup>3</sup>

"It seldom happens," Shaikh Nizāmuddīn Auliya told Amir Hasan Sijzi, who was himself a Government servant, "that after obtaining a Government office entering service, a man obtains his salvation in the end."<sup>4</sup> and illustrated his meaning by a pregnant psychological anecdote. "In days past there was a man, called Hamid. In his earlier life he was in Delhi in the service of Malik Tughral who ultimately made himself king Lakhnauti,<sup>5</sup> Hamid was standing before Tughral one

<sup>1</sup> *Khair-ul-Majalis*, Majlis XII.

<sup>2</sup> *Asrarul Auliya*, pp. 47-48.

<sup>3</sup> *Fawalid-ul-Fawaid*, 5 Shawal, 706 A.H. 3. Ibid, 11 Ziqad 715 A.H.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. 11 Ziqad 715 A.H.

<sup>5</sup> Barani's *Tarikh-i Firuz Shahi*, pp. 81-83.

day when he saw an apparition (a *surat*) which said, Hamid, why are you standing before this man?" It said this and disappeared. A second time when he was standing before Tughrul, he saw the vision again and it said, "Hamid, why do you stand before this man?" Again Hamid was left in surprise. The third time the figure appeared and made the same remark. This time Hamid replied, "Why should I not stand before him? I am the servant. He is the master. He gives me my pay. Why should I not stand before him?" The figure replied, "You are a scholar; he is an ignorant man. You are a free man; he is a slave. You are a pious man; he is a sinner." It said this and disappeared.

'The Khwaja reflected over the matter and went to the Malik. "If there is anything due from me or any accounts remain to be settled, please order this to be done. I will not serve you any longer." "What words are these you utter?" the Malik replied. "Have you gone mad," "No, I will not serve you. The blessing of contentment has been granted to me."

Amir Hasan wanted to know if the figure was one of the curious being which the early Musalmans called the 'unseen man' or *Maidan-i-Ghaib*. "No" replied the Shaikh, "When a man's inner mind is cleared of impurities, he sees many such visions. Several such qualities are found in man, but owing to his bad action they are suppressed."<sup>1</sup> Or as we would say today the better elements in Khwaja Hamid's mind conjured up a vision to give him that advice which, owing to the demands of material life were being suppressed in the regions of his sub-consciousness.

This timely resignation from Government service saved Khwaja Hamid from the destruction which overtook Tughrul and his officers at the hands of Ghiyasuddin Balban in Bengal.<sup>2</sup> But this is not the main point. It was not Physical security but spiritual freedom—riddence from the shackles of the will of other men—for which the soul of Hamid had been longing. "You are free man", the figure had said. "This man, your master, though so highly placed, is a slave of the imperial system to which he belongs." So the Khwaja, enlightened and saved by the vision, proceeded to join the circle of the free. "After saying good-bye to his service", Nizamuddin Auliya continues, "Khwaja Hamid went to Shaikh Farid and became his disciple."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Fawa'id-ul-Fawa'id*, 11 Ziqad, 715 A. H.

<sup>2</sup> *Turikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Barani, pp. 91-93.

<sup>3</sup> *Fawa'id-ul-Fawa'id*, 11 Ziqad 715 A. H.

The tradition of keeping aloof from the Government as we have seen, was not evolved by the *Chishti* mystics. But their adoption of it was wholehearted and without reservation. The complaints of the succeeding generations voiced in the *Asrarul Auliya*, is that the mystics are no longer true to this tradition.<sup>1</sup> The unconfirmed testimony of this work would not by itself carry weight but it is fully confirmed by the remarks of Shaikh Nasiruddin Mahmud himself. The mystics far from avoiding the Government had begun to make Sufism a means of livelihood with its assistance. Thus Hamid Qalandar tells us that in discussing the tradition—"Live on what your hands have earned or the sweat of your brow; do not live on your religion." Shaikh Nasiruddin, with an obvious reference to the rising evil of his time, observes, "Living on your faith means this. A *durwesh* puts on ornate clothes, dons a hat on his head and goes to the house of *Amirs* and *Maliks*. I am *durwesh*, give me something or, he goes and prays continuously in the mosque of a rich man so that the latter may be informed of his prayers. Or, else, he goes from door to door reciting the five verses (of the Quran). This is living on your faith."<sup>2</sup> It is not necessary to labour this point. The history of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent in the following centuries shows a close alliance between the rulers and the leaders of the *Sufi* Orders, most of whom tended to become hereditary. The alliance did not put the kings on the right path. It was the mystics who were exploited by the secular powers. *Sufism* having become a vested interest—an interest buttressed by pensions and land grants from the state—had no alternative but to dance to the tune of its masters.

<sup>1</sup> *Asrar-ul-Auliya*, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> *Khan-ul-Majalis*, Majlis XXI.

## PRE-MUGHAL ARCHITECTURE OF LAHORE

### (Ghaznavide Period)

While writing on the architecture of the Ghaznavide period—particularly in Lahore, which was a part of that empire, one has to trace the trends of tradition and the influences exerted by various groups of people who kept coming since the very inception of the Muslim rule in the north. Unfortunately neither any specimen of art nor any architectural monument of that period, exists here today, which could afford us an opportunity to study their merits and demerits. Their mention, however, is made in the works of history relating to this period. In the circumstances, therefore, we shall have to depend upon the existing remnants of the Ghaznavide period in other towns. They will not only enable us to study the artistic nature of monuments that once existed at Lahore but also to understand how far northern India had been affected by the Islamic culture in general.

The Ghaznavide Sultans overran northern India in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. and made Lahore their centre of activities, (Since A. H. 412/A.D. 1021).

Persia, being situated in the heart of the Middle East became a crucible in which the arts of Turkistan and China on one side, of Mesopotamia, Syria and the Byzantine Empire on the other were fused together and transmuted into new forms from which they issued afresh with an indelible stamp of Persian beauty set upon them. And the channel through which this stream of art flowed southwards into India was Ghazni. Ghazni, however, was more than a mere medium for the dissemination of Islamic art. All the culture and magnificence which in the ninth and tenth centuries had belonged to the Samanid dynasty of north-eastern Persia had passed, as if by the natural right of inheritance, to the Ghaznavides and, under Mahmud the Great and his successors, Ghazni became famous among all cities of the Caliphate for the splendour of its architecture. Most of the buildings, unfortunately, perished during the ruthless burning of the city by 'Ala-ud-Din Husain Jahansoz and thus fell victims to vandalism and ravages of time.

The plains of Ghazni still show the remains of this splendour; and, in the dearth of information regarding the Persian art of that age, an account of it would be one of the most interesting and valuable pieces of information we could receive. These ruins, however, have recently



received the attention of scholars of foreign countries, mostly the French experts. They have also traced the grave of Sultan Mahmud which was once a grand mausoleum. In 1932 the writer had the privilege to personally visit an exhibition in Paris at the Muse Guimet consisting of the antiquities of Ghaznin and its neighbourhood. In reality it was an illustrated report of some recent excavations carried out by the French experts at Ghaznin. Particularly in this respect the contribution of the late Monsieur S. Flury is worthy of note, who looks also to be a great scholar of the Arabic language. He has published his researches on Ghaznin along with the unique inscription of Mahmud's grave.

We know it well that the British by committing a great folly had removed the gates of the tomb of Mahmud from the ruins of Ghaznin to India on the presumption that these gates were actually brought from the Somnat temple in Gujrat by that Sultan and had been deposited in Ghaznin as a trophy. This action of the British during the days of Lord Ellenborough in 1842 was very much regretted and they were preserved in the Agra fort.

They are of deodar pine and carved ornament on them are so similar to these found at Cairo, on the mosque of Ibn Tulun and other buildings of that age, as not only to prove that they were of the same date but also to show how similar were even the modes of decoration at these two extremities of the Muslim empire at the time of their execution. They are divided into panels and adorned with six pointed stars and simple geometrical figures which are also interwoven with arabesque motifs. At the same time there is nothing in their style of ornament that at all resembles any thing found in any Hindu temple either of that age or at any other time. There is, in fact, no reason for doubting that these gates were made for the place where they were found.

It is generally tried to make other believe that the skill of Indian master builders made Mahmud of Ghaznin's capital one of the finest cities of the East. So it was necessary to clear this ambiguity by adding a few words regarding the so-called gates of Somnat lying in the Agra fort and it is proved that there is not even the slightest affinity between the Hindu monuments of all the periods and those of the Ghaznavides.

As already pointed out Mahmūd conquered Lahore in 1021 A. D. and simply to commemorate his victory over the Punjab he raised a victory

tower in the fort of Lahore which is noted by the historian Fakhr-i-Mudabbir as *minār*. He had also built a mosque in Lahore which owing to its architectural merits was called by the local people *Khishu Masjid*—mosque built of bricks, because it was built purely of masonry work. It means stone as a chief building material was not used in its construction. It is also a fact that at that time most of the monument of the Ghaznavide period were built of masonry. This mosque at Lahore was perhaps erected in the Arab quarter of Lahore which was thus named, being thickly populated by the Musalmans who were then called Arabs by the non-Muslims. To-day we cannot say any thing definitely regarding these monuments of Mahmūd, because they do not exist. However, the architectural standard of these buildings at Lahore can easily be understood from other such extant monuments built elsewhere within the Ghaznavide empire. So the *minars* of Ghaznin, which fortunately exist even to this day come to our rescue. They were also, according to expert opinion, built as victory towers. Fergusson says: "Two *minars* still adorn the plain outside the city and form, if not the most striking, at least the most prominent of the ruins of that city. They are indeed, pillars of victory like those of Chittor and elsewhere in India. One of these *minars* was erected by Mahmūd himself; the other was built or at least finished by Mas'ūd, one of his immediate successors. These *minars* bear inscriptions which relate dates and the names of their builders. The lower part of these towers is of a star-like form—on the plan being apparently formed by placing two squares diagonally one over the other. The upper part rising to the height of about one hundred forty feet from the ground is circular; both are of brick work covered with ornament of terra-cotta of extreme elaboration and beauty, and retaining their sharpness to the present day." They play the role of prototypes of the famous *Qutb Minar* at Delhi and analogous to one tower of Damaghan in Persia and at Mujah and Tang in Mesopotamia.

The *Khishu Masjid* at Lahore noted above also does not exist to-day but other mosques built elsewhere by Mahmūd are well-known for their splendour and elegance. Particularly the description of the mosque of Ghaznin is noted by 'Utbi in his *Tarikh-i-Yamini*, which was built just in accordance with the suggestion and orders of the Sultan. It means that he was used to taking personal interest in his buildings and himself used supervise their construction. This mosque's facade was duly decorated with *arabesques* and its porticoes were adorned with necessary arches. Its niche of *Mihrah* in the *evan* of the mosque was a distinct feature. It is

related that this mosque was built on the model of the Umayyad mosque at Damascus. It all shows that during this period great care was taken in keeping up the traditions of the previous monuments and the experts were deputed to study those trends to follow them in the subsequent ones. Therefore we can safely say that the *Khishti Masjid* at Lahore was strictly on their prototypes at Ghaznin because it was to represent the specimen of the imperial architecture of those days.

When the nobility of the Ghaznavide period perceived the taste of the king in architecture, they endeavoured to vie with one another in the magnificence of their palaces as well as in public buildings, which were raised for the establishment of the city. Thus the capital was, in a short time, ornamented with mosques, porches, aqueducts and sistern. Accordingly in Lahore there must have been built many grand edifices by the nobles of this kingdom. Fortunately Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd Salman, who was a citizen of Lahore and a well-known poet of a very high rank during this period, had built a splendid palace at Lahore which is very highly praised by his contemporary poet Abu'l-Farj Runi who was also a native of Lahore. In the absence of this palace of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd Salman at Lahore we cannot say any thing about its architectural merits unless we avail ourselves of the recent discoveries of a unique palace of *Laskari Bazar* at Bust, one of the chief towns of the Ghaznawide empire. It will give us an idea of palaces of those days and besides it, a reflection of the inside view of the Islamic culture of those days during the Ghaznavide rule. Mas'ūd himself laments the memory of Lahore while away from Lahore in imprisonment at Nishāpūr,

We the citizens of Lahore hold in great reverence the *Khanqah* of the great saint Abu'l-Ahsan 'Alī bin 'Uthmān al-Hujwerī al-Jullābī al-Ghaznawī, who lived here during the Ghaznavide period for years and propagated Islam. He died here in A. H. 465/A. D., and was buried here. His mausoleum to day is known as *Data Ganj Bakhsh*, which, according to the local historian, was built by Sultan Ibrahim of Ghaznin, one of the successors of Mahmud, the Great. It is an admitted fact that the present mosque at this *Khanqah* near the shrine of *Data Ganj Bakhsh*, is a recent one and the mausoleum as well. But one cannot deny that an imposing building must have been built keeping in view the tradition of other tombs already built elsewhere. Unfortunately no such tomb is available except the mausoleum of the Samanid Sultan, Abu Ibrahim Isma'il, son of Ahmad at Bukhārā, which is fortunately extant even to this day in its perfect

and sound condition. It is regarded as the standard specimen of the only domed imperial mausoleums of those days. There is no doubt that this tomb of the Samanid Sultan must have had also served as a prototype for the mausoleum of Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazni himself, which is at present in a ruined condition, although its old sarcophagus exists even to this day. The remains of the Ghaznavide Sultans were put to fire by 'Alā-ud-Dīn Jahānsoz, as noted above.

The great architectural characteristics of the mausoleum of the Samanid Sultan at Bukhārā are its square base, arched porticoes on its four facades and its central dome, which stands on pendentives with four small cupoles around it. This particular feature of the mausoleum construction in Islamic architecture achieved a great eminence. Similarly at Lahore, Malik Abu'n-Najm Ayāzi the Turkish slave of Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazni was buried at Lahore within the vicinity of *Rong Mahal* and mausoleum befitting his grand personality must have been built to perpetuate his memory, which does not exist to day, although his grave does exist here. However, keeping in view the architectural traditions and merits of the tomb of the Samanid Sultan at Bukhārā we can visualise the tombs of *Data Ganj Baksh* of Ayāz and Shaikh Ismail Bukhārī in Lahore, which were built here but do not exist today.

Consequently we can say that though to day at Lahore there is no splendid specimen of art and architecture of the Ghaznavide period yet the reputation of the personages of that period lying buried here, or those who lived or ruled here and are mentioned in the pages of historical works of the period is a sufficient proof that art and architecture flourished here in that period, and it was exactly on the lines and tradition as we find even to this day in other parts of the Ghaznavide Empire.

## AMIR DOST MUHAMMAD KHAN BARAKZAI

### (A Character Study.)

Amir Dost Muhammad Khan is a striking figure in the history of Afghanistan. A man of great political acumen and practical wisdom, he might have been able, in a more congenial atmosphere, to leave his mark as a diplomat of high order and successful leader of men.

Born the son of a Barakzai<sup>1</sup> Chief, named Payanda Khan, he remained to the year 1818, almost like an 'attache' to his elder brother Wazir Fateh Khan, who had been the head of the family since the murder of their father in 1800. But Dost Muhammad Khan possessed great initiative, determined resolution and drive. He had to lead the life of an adventurer for years until 1826, when he gave a *coupe-de-grace* to the tottering Sadduzai<sup>2</sup> rule and established himself as the founder-ruler of the Barakzai dynasty in Afghanistan. During the years 1826-39 he had gained much in strength and been able to tighten his hold upon the erstwhile unruly tribes. For these thirteen years he reigned supreme in Afghanistan and was able 'to hold together the different provinces of the kingdom under his undivided sway.'<sup>3</sup>

But the 19th century Anglo-Afghan Policy which had been prompted by the dread of a Russian invasion of India from the north west, involved him in the First Afghan War (1838-39). British diplomacy having failed to make the Amir its comfortable ally had decided to replace him by Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk<sup>4</sup> of the Sadduzai dynasty who had been since 1816, a British stipendiary at Ludhiana.

On August 7, 1839, Shah Shuja was escorted into Kabul by an Anglo-Indian Army, and Amir Dost Muhammad Khan forced to go in the wilderness. But soon after the daring and resourceful Amir raised a small force and gave his enemies a battle at Purwandura<sup>5</sup> on November 2, 1840<sup>6</sup>. He drove them before him and charged them right up to their

<sup>1</sup> One of the clans of the *Abdali* tribe, more commonly known from the time of the illustrious Ahmad Shah Abdali, by the name of *Durrani*.

<sup>2</sup> Another clan of the *Abdali* tribe.

<sup>3</sup> *The Russo-Indian Question* by Capt. Trench p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> One of the three sons of Shah Taimur (1773-93) who was the son and successor of Ahmad Shah Abdali (1747-73). The other two were Shah Zeman (1793-1801) and Shah Mahmud (1801-03, 1809-18).

<sup>5</sup> A place on a rough ground that is sloped up towards the adjacent Nidgrow hill. In modern Persian they call it 'Jabal-ul-Siraj'.

<sup>6</sup> 'Dost Muhammad Khan'-Calcutta Review, No. XIII, March 1847, p. 59. *Memorials of Afghanistan* by J.H. Stoequeler, p. 132.

position until almost within reach of the British force.<sup>1</sup> Then finding further resistance futile he decided to surrender to the English at Kabul.

The Amir was sent to India on November 12,<sup>2</sup> and kept in different stations for two years. After the British disasters in Afghanistan in 1841-42, he was liberated and escorted back with honour to his country so that he might bring the affairs in Afghanistan under control. Thereafter he ruled independently until his death on June 9, 1863.<sup>3</sup>

Sir Alexander Burnes, a great linguist and traveller<sup>4</sup> who had gained an invaluable knowledge of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan, his people and the country through his travels in Afghanistan and residence in Kabul, described him thus:

"He is a man of no common ability, with a well disciplined mind, a high sense of justice and general appreciation of his duties and responsibilities as a ruler of the people, not unworthy of a potentate".

It appears that the character of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan was doubly shaped—his natural character which goaded him to great deeds of courage, chivalry, generosity and justice, and the character shaped by mere circumstances which sometimes forced him to act in a manner which morality of this age rightly condemns.

#### (A) His Personality.

Amir Dost Muhammad Khan was uncommonly muscular and tall. At the ripe age of 49 he stood six feet high with a slight stoop in the neck. He had a sharp nose and highly arched eye-brows which pointed to his sharp political sagacity and practical wisdom. His face was oval-shaped though rather broad across the cheeks, and his fore-head high. His chin was covered with a full, bushy and strong beard.

<sup>1</sup> '43 Years in India'—'Reminiscences of Forty three years in India by Sir G. Lawrence p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> *History of the war in Afghanistan* by J.W. Kaye, Vol. II, p. 97. *The first Afghan war and its Causes* by Sir H.M. Durant, p. 295.

<sup>3</sup> 'Pedigree of Barakzai Family' by McCracken, p. 4. Siraj-'Siraj-ul-Tawarikh', p. 197.

<sup>4</sup> Author of.

(a) *Cabool—being a Personal Narrative of a Journey to and Residence in that city in the years 1836-38.*

(b) 'Travels of Bokhara', 3 Vols. (1834).

(c) 'The Commerce of Cabool'—*Calcutta Journal* (1833).

Nature had endowed him with great physical strength and energy. From youth he had been known for indomitable pluck, high spirit and resolute mind. He was a good horseman, a fair shot with the rifle and an expert spearsman.<sup>1</sup> His matchless alacrity, prowess and steadiness were wonderful. "In one moment he was seen making a havoc in the lines of the enemy, and then, forcing his way back, he was observed to encourage his followers to fight; and another time he was perceived to restore order among the undisciplined soldiers."<sup>2</sup>

Amir Dost Muhammad Khan had adapted himself to a hard life from childhood. He would go without food for days on end, and content himself by a hearty meal of dry bread or a handful of half-fried grain at times. He would often lie down on the bare ground or use a stone for his pillow.<sup>3</sup>

He was gifted with certain qualities which inspire confidence in others and help to win their affection in return. He was a man of cool temperament and of a presence of mind which never left him in his supreme hour of trial.

### Accomplishments.

Amir Dost Muhammad Khan had earlier led the life of an adventurer and received little education. But soon after the assumption of power in 1826, he taught himself to read and write and 'completed the task of reading the Koran after two years application'.<sup>4</sup> He had done so in order to free himself from the strict tutelage of the Qizilbash Chiefs who alone claimed to be the custodians of knowledge and learning.

He enjoyed command over several languages and dialects. He talked freely in the Persian, Pushtu, Turkish, Punjabi and Kashmiri languages. He would address an Afghan in Pushtu and a visitor from Turkistan in Turkish. His delicacy of expression, politeness and modesty of arguments were remarkable. His good memory<sup>5</sup> for names helped him to run over the names of persons and places with a remarkable ease and quick-

<sup>1</sup> *Memoir—'A Memoir of India and Afghanistan'* by Dr. J. Harlan, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Mohan LAL—*'Life of Amir Dost Muhammad Khan of Kabul'* by Mohan Lal Munshi—Vol. I, p. 67.

<sup>3</sup> MOHAN LAL—Vol. I, p. 91.

<sup>4</sup> *MEMOIR*, p. 125.

<sup>5</sup> WOOD—*'A Journey to the source of the River Oxus'* by Capt. John Wood, p. 108

ness. He was a good critic of painting<sup>1</sup>. Vigne, another traveller in Asia says,

"He (Dost Muhammad Khan) is one of the very few Orientals who can comprehend, without a question, the meaning of a shadow, or why one side of the face should be dark and other light, and why, in some positions, more of one eye<sup>2</sup> should be seen than the other....."

### Religious views.

The Amir was a devout Muslim who found real satisfaction in meditation on God Almighty and the observance of religious rites. He conformed to the prescribed rules of prayers and observed regular fasts. He had engaged religious and secular teachers for his sons. But he never admitted religious discussions at his court, because he knew that they often lead to sectarian disagreement.

Amir Dost Muhammad Khan had been addicted to wine in youth; but soon after the assumption of authority he abjured the use of liquor once and for all. One evening he found two of his sons<sup>3</sup> dead drunk and failing to control his frenzy, he took them upto the roof and threw them down<sup>4</sup>.

He had prohibited the sale and the use of wine,<sup>5</sup> and removed singing and dancing girls from his kingdom.<sup>6</sup> These and similar other ordinances reveal his humanitarian and enlightened spirit.

The Amir had a great sense of equity and was free from religious prejudices. In political matters too he was fair to one and all. At times, when he was pressed hard for money, he resorted to borrowing from the Muslims and non-Muslims alike<sup>7</sup>. He had granted the free exercise of religious practices to the Hindu money-lenders at Kabul. He tried, as best he could to administer justice with strictness and impartiality.

<sup>1</sup> Vigne's *VISIT TO KABUL*, p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> VIGNE'S *VISIT TO KABUL*, p. 362.

<sup>3</sup> Muhammad Afzal Khan and Muhammad Akbar Khan.

<sup>4</sup> MOHAN LAL. Vol. I, p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 237; Burnes *TRAVELS OF BOKHARA*, Vol. II, p. 331.

<sup>6</sup> MOHAN LAL. Vol. I, p. 237; Vigne's *VISIT TO KABUL*, p. 370.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 171.



## (B) AS A RULER.

During the thirteen years that he reigned supreme in Afghanistan, Amir Dost Muhammad Khan's brothers acknowledged his supremacy,<sup>1</sup> and the chiefs of Qandahar held themselves obedient to his wishes<sup>2</sup>. He was conscious of his duties and responsibilities as a ruler, and exerted himself to protect the people against the oppression of the tribal chiefs and state officials.

### His Handicaps.

The Amir suffered from certain handicaps. His revenue returns were inadequate as compared with those of the former Sadduzai Kings<sup>3</sup>. His military strength therefore did not come upto his standard for the mere want of money<sup>4</sup>. The Afghan nobility often grumbled when, in time of emergency, he resorted to an increase of duties and taxes, resumption of lands assigned for charity or loans and fines and a reduction of allowances. The reason for it was that these measures hit the rich more than the poor<sup>5</sup>. "Many an act of injustice had been committed, for the sake of procuring money.....If any one else had held the reigns in Kabul, matter would have been ten times worse."<sup>6</sup>

### Political Sagacity.

Amir Dost Muhamman Khan was a keen observer of human character who could not be long deceived. He thoroughly understood the people over whom he ruled. The perfect knowledge of the Afghans had made him remarkably welladapted to govern them.

"To rule a nation like the Afghans was a great achievement. To rule it as he did was the highest praiseworthy act."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 'Cabool' by Burnes, p. 373.

<sup>2</sup> Burnes to Government of India, 4th December, 1937—Book No. 108, letter No. 60, *Punjab Records*.

<sup>3</sup> Like Shah Muhmud and Shah Shuja.

<sup>4</sup> A soldier demanded his discharge for reasons of non-payment of his salary. The Amir promptly arranged for the payment and discharged him from his service—Vigne's *Visit to Kabul*, p. 374.

<sup>5</sup> Burnes to Government—Kabul, dated 20th November, 1937—Book No. 108, Letter No. 59—*Punjab Records*.

<sup>6</sup> Vigne's *Visit to Kabul*—p. 373.

<sup>7</sup> 'The War in Afghanistan'—*Students Monthly Magazine for all India* (Delhi), Sept. 1852, p. 792.

It goes to his credit that none of his illustrious sons ever took to rebellion and were rather a great support to their father. As the Governors of various provinces of his kingdom they scrupulously carried out his policy of compromise. His political acumen exhibited in his remarkable control of his sons transcends the political wisdom of some of the great Mughal rulers of India, and entitles him to a place among the great political personages of the East.

The chiefs of the various Afghan tribes generally held him in awe and fear, but he made no direct attempt to put a sudden restraint on their tribal rights. He applied all the energy of his masterful nature to the task of slowly but steadily curbing the power of the unruly tribes and consolidating his own authority.<sup>2</sup> This wise policy stood the Amir in good stead; the tribal chiefs did not ever try to create headache for him by attempting to invade his possessions or to conspire or intrigue for his dethronement. Burnes once remarked:

“The justice of this chief (Dost Mohammad Khan) affords a constant theme of praise to all classes; the peasant rejoices at the absence of tyranny; the citizen at the safety of his home and the strict municipal regulations regarding weights and measures; the merchant at the equity of the decisions and the protection of his property, and the soldiers at the regular manner in which their arrears are discharged.”<sup>1</sup>

#### Administrative Ability.

The Amir had a passion for order and good government. He daily sat in public to transact business,<sup>2</sup> and had appropriated Friday for hearing petitions from the populace. He reorganized the administrative machinery and reduced crime which had been a great headache for the preceding Sadduzai Kings. He seized and executed the leaders of the most refractory tribes inhabiting the mountains of Midjrow, Tāghow and Kohistan-i-Kabul, and made the highways safe for the people at large.

The Ghilzāis who extended from Jalalabad in the east to Kālat-i-Ghilzāi in the West, were the most ferocious and warlike people. By virtue of their intimate knowledge of the crags and dales, narrow passes and hidden pathways of their mountainous country, they had always proved most obstinate opponents to invaders from the west and the east

<sup>1</sup> Burnes' *Travels of Bokhara*, Vol. II, pp. 331, 332.

<sup>2</sup> *Memoir*, p. 144.

alike, and equally successfully defied the arms of succession of rulers in Afghanistan. The Amir was able by his tact and wisdom to convert them into loyal subjects and win their fidelity and devotion subsequently by a matrimonial alliance.<sup>1</sup>

### His Diplomacy.

Amir Dost Mohammad Khan was an astute diplomat of his time. His winning manners and address contributed in no small measure to his success as a diplomat. He could easily dispel the suspicions and win the confidence of his erstwhile opponents. He was skilled in stratagem and did not resort to harsh extremes if it were possible for him to succeed with milder measures.<sup>2</sup>

In 1832, Shāh Shujā-ul-Mulk was planning to attempt to regain the throne of Kabul. The Amir who had got an inkling of his design, addressed a letter to Sir Claude Wade<sup>3</sup> to enquire whether the British Government would support him in his contemplated design against the established government of Afghanistan. He added that if he were assured that Shāh Shujā' was being supported by the British, he (the Amir) might 'give his own deliberate consideration before preparing himself to oppose their combined forces.'

Soon after this the political state of affairs to the North West of India roused the anxieties of the British statesmen and brought Afghanistan into the foreground of the field of British and Indian politics. They deemed it necessary as a counterstroke to the Russian machination in Persia, to attempt to secure the goodwill and alliance of the Amir of Kābul. In 1837 therefore, the British Government in India despatched a 'Commercial Mission' to Kābul to sound the situation there.

Amir Dost Muhammad Khan quite willingly agreed to try to contract the object of whatever states might meditate designs hostile to the 'British interest'; but he made it a condition of his active alliance that the British Government would exert her diplomatic pressure on Raja Ranjit Singh of

<sup>1</sup> He had his son Muhammed Akbar Khan married in the Eastern branch of the Ghilzai tribe | Book No. 108, Letter No. 59. *Punjab Records*.

<sup>2</sup> *Students Monthly Magazine for all India* (Delhi) September 1852, p. 292.

Masoon—*Narrative of various journeys to Balochistan, Afghanistan, and Punjab and Kalat* by Charles Masson, Vol. I, p. 25.

<sup>3</sup> The British Political Agent at Ludhiana.

the Punjab to restore to him the district of Peshawar<sup>1</sup> which he had occupied earlier. But Sir Alexander Burnes, Head of the Mission, though convinced of the sincerity and goodwill of the Amir towards his Government,<sup>2</sup> pleaded the doctrine of non-interference on the part of his Government and tried to dissuade him from making a reciprocal demand.<sup>3</sup> The Amir, however, remained firm in his demand and the talks failed.

The Amir had a regard for the English and was ever ready to stretch the hand of friendship to their Government in India, but he would not bring himself to see that his people should also hold them or their Government in high estimation. He had therefore shut his country against free access from their side and maintained a vigilant supervision over the people who entered or returned from India.

### His Popularity.

Amir Dost Muhammad Khan<sup>4</sup> had endeared himself with the poor by virtue of his keen sense of justice, wide sympathies and humanitarian spirit. His simple manners and free hospitality coupled with free accessibility to the meanest of his subjects had won him their enthusiastic admiration and grateful affection.<sup>5</sup> The famous traveller, Masson, remarks that he was once introduced to Dost Muhammad Khan, a chief of whom he had heard all people speak so favourably both in and out of his dominion. The Hindus fearlessly approached him in his rides,<sup>6</sup> and he listened to their grievances patiently and redressed them if they were genuine. He adds that :

‘ on our road from Kandahar as we met people and inquired the news of Kābul, we had but one reply, that it was flourishing and plentiful. There was but one opinion expressed that the prosperity was due to the *insaf* (justice) of Dost Muhammad Khan ’.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mohan Lal, Vol. p. 247.

<sup>2</sup> *Calcutta Review*, No. XIII, March 1847, p. 35.

<sup>3</sup> The British Government, in fact, wished Peshawar to be restored to Peshawa Brothers—Burnes to Government of India, dated Kabul, 5th October 1837, Book No. 108, Letter No. 39. Punjab Records.

<sup>4</sup> Called by the people ‘ *Amir-i-Kabir* ’.

<sup>5</sup> From MacNeil, British Envoy at Teheran to Government, reviewing the state of affairs in Afghanistan, dated 22nd January, 1837—Book No. 119, Letter No. 22, *Punjab Records*.

<sup>6</sup> Masson, Vol. I, p. 252.

<sup>7</sup> Masson, Vol. III, p. 14.

Burnes too, in his report on 'The Political State of Afghanistan', had remarked thus :

'Nothing but his (Amīr) limited revenues prevent his being a most popular ruler and with this disadvantage even his name is seldom mentioned beyond the precincts of his court but with respect<sup>1</sup>.'

When one recall the hard times in which Amīr Dost Muhammad Khan rose to power not by the accident of birth but by sheer effort, the great handicaps which barred his way to progress and the presence of strong and watchful neighbours, one feels inclined to pay a tribute to his genius which alone contributed towards the peace and order in his dominion. 'The assumption of authority by Dost Muhammad Khan has been favourable to the prosperity of Kabul which after so long a period of commotion required a calm<sup>2</sup>'.

### (C) His Weakness.

Amīr Dost Muhammad Khan had certain inherent weaknesses as well. He was suspicious by nature and often unsparing to those of whom he suspected treachery and foul play. He had, therefore, many accomplices but few real friends.

A close and dispassionate study of the character of the Afghans and the exigencies of the time, will reveal the fact that he could ill-afford to dispense with his strong arm. Had he been born in an age of comparative peace and tranquility, his talents might have found a fair chance for their development, and he might have been spared the commission of many enormities<sup>3</sup>.

It is said that during his reign he promoted no measures for the improvement of his country and the amelioration of his people, that he 'kept a close borough of Islam, stationary in the ignorance of the middle ages and parvaded with religious bigotry of that period, and to the close of his life defended that policy as the only one whereby to maintain the independence of the country.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Burnes to Government from Kabul, December 1837, Book No. 108, Letter No. 52, *Punjab Records*.

<sup>2</sup> Masson, Vol. p. 251.

<sup>3</sup> Masson, Vol. III, p. 86.

<sup>4</sup> Bellew's *Afghans*—'Afghanistan and the Afghans' by H. W. Bellew, p. 98.

After his surrender to the English in 1840; he was asked by the British Envoy why he had permitted everything to go to decay. He frankly admitted that he could hardly do much to improve the well being of his people. His means were scarce, his revenue returns poor and collected with difficulty. The current wants for subsistence and even existence were all he could supply.

The Amīr, however, suffered from the one mastering weakness of vindictiveness. Retaliation was, in fact, hereditary with the Bārakzāi who seldom ceased to exact vengeance on the person or property of their father, Pāyanda Khān, Shah Zamān (1793-1801) had thrown the Bārakzāi brothers over to the side of Shāh Mahmūd (1801-03/1809-18) whom they managed to bring to the throne and through him blind Shāh Zamān. In 1809 again, when Shāh Shujā-ul-Mulk (1803-09) antagonised Wazīr Fateh Khān, Dost Muhammad Khān contrived to release Shāh Mahmūd from prison and reinstate him. In 1818 Wazīr Fateh Khān's murder by Prince Kāmran threw Dost Muhammad Khān into a fit of rage which kept him on pin-points until 1826 when he brought about a revolution in Afghanistan and established the rule of the Bārakzāi dynasty. Again, in 1837-38, when the ' Commercial Mission ' visited Kābul, the Amīr made all possible efforts to enlist the support of the British Government for the restoration of Peshawar, but when he became disgusted with the dilly dally attitude of the British Government towards his legitimate demand he publicly sent for the Russian emissary, Vitkievitch and paraded him through the streets of Kābul. This spirit of retaliation more than any other moral weakness made him commit certain acts which we rightly condemn today.

## A NOTE ON SIRAT-I-FIRUZ SHAHI (MS).

An interesting trait of Feruz Shah's character was that he was very keen to be known to his contemporaries and to be remembered by the posterity as a good Muslim King. It was a laudable desire. It was this which led him to have a statement of his reforms and beneficent activities inscribed on a dome in the *masjid-i-Firuz Shahi*. The same desire resulted in the compilation of *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*. The Emperor's interest in History is given as the primary reason for the compilation of the work. The work was a kind of court chronicle and was compiled at the command of Firuz Shah. A unique manuscript of this work is extant in the Oriental Library, Bankipore.

### Description of the MS.

The MS is written in ordinary *nastaliq*. A number of folios, though only a few, are missing. It bears the *ard-didas* and seals of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb. The Aligarh University Library also has a recently made copy of this MS. The MS at Bankipore is however unique, as no other MS of such antiquity is known to exist in any other collection. The MS. begins with following verse.

رنج زجاں زندہ برآرد نفس  
فاتحہ حمد خدا است و بس

### Historical value of Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi :

The work covers a little more than the first half of Firuz Shah's reign 1351-8. It was compiled in 722/1370-71 (Sirat f.344) as is given in one of the concluding verses which runs thus :

تاریخ هفتاد و بود هفتصد  
کہ اتمام ای شد ز فضل الہی

No event that occurred after this date is recorded in it. The only exception is a lion hunt of which the date is given as 776, but this is doubtlessly a mistake of the scribe. The objective of the compiler was to glorify Firuz Shah, to put him in the limelight in all matters and to ascribe all matters of importance to him. Every one else is thrown into the shade, including the author himself, who has nowhere mentioned his name and has made just one stray reference to himself at the end of the work. His identity in

fact remains unrevealed throughout. Khan-i-Jahan, the all powerful *Wazir* of Firuz Shah, who actually ran the civil and revenue administration and who was therefore called by Firuz Shah as the ruler of Delhi, is mentioned casually in a few places. Other ministers are conspicuous by almost complete absence of reference.

The style is inflated and ornate. It would be quite fair to say that at places the attempt of the writer appears to be to put the minimum of meaning in the maximum words. In spite of its great value as a contemporary source, the substantial historical information contained in the body of the work is rather disappointing and small in comparison to the bulk of the work. A good deal of information contained in it is of purely theoretical and abstract nature. Thus there is a detailed discussion of the various sects of Islam, but it appears to bear little relation with contemporary facts. The compiler perhaps wanted to impress the reader with his knowledge. He has probably reproduced the description of sects found in current works of religion. One useful piece of information gleaned from this is that the controversial sect of *Ibāḥatīyyas* is enumerated among the heterodox sects of Islam. It is interesting to note that *Sirajul Hidayat* (MS), one of the collections of the *Malfuzat* of Makhḍum-i-Jahānī of Uch, also contains a long chapter on the sects of Islam and similarly includes *Ibāḥatīyyas* among Muslim sects. At certain places the compiler of *Sirat* displays his knowledge of vocabulary by giving a long array of synonyms or a large number of words with slightly differing shades of meaning. Thus while describing Firuz Shah's capturing a large number of female prisoners of war in the Jajnagar campaign, the author gives a long list of words for women of different ages and description. At places he uses words which resemble each other in writing but differ in diacritical marks. He is fond of puns. In one instance his pun has proved very useful. Muhammad bin Tughluq soon after his accession had appointed Malik Pindar Khalji to the Governorship of Lakhnauti with the title of Qadr Khan. The Khalji noble's name is however given in most histories as Bedar. The compiler of *Sirat* by using a pun leaves us in no doubt about the name :

پندار در سر اوتاد و قدر عاقبت نداشت و بدل نیاورد که از موالی  
ملک پندار است -

The work is divided into four parts. Part I deals with wars and hunts. The accounts of wars are not impartial. The Jajnagar campaign is given



in greater detail than in any other work, yet the misadventure towards the end of the campaign is simply not mentioned. A similar misadventure in the Thatta campaign is also overlooked. Firuz Shah is shown to have obtained decisive victories in all campaigns. One very useful and interesting point is Firuz Shah's policy towards the temples. Some irresponsible elements of the imperial army wanted to desecrate the Jwalamukhi temple in Nagarkot after the Raja had submitted. Says the compiler of *Sirat* "The Emperor of Islam, following the sanction of *Shariat*, ordered that the temple be left intact." He further remarks that the temple had been similarly spared by Muhammad bin Tughluq at the request of the Rai. However in the Jajnagar campaign the temple of Jagannath at Puri was thoroughly desecrated by Firuz Shah as an act of war. This took place before the Rai of Jajnagar had made his submission. The geographical description of the Jajnagar campaign is full and accurate, The account of the invasion of Chilka Lake Island is contained in *Sirat* alone and in no other history. But the description of the island is accurate and convincing.

Part I also describes at length Firuz Shah's inordinate passion for game. About a dozen folios are devoted to this subject. It contains information about tigers, dogs and other animals. It divides animals into four and two categories, each corresponding to one of the four elements and one of the 12 Zodiacs respectively. It is herein claimed that as Firuz Shah stamped out all indiscipline, the brute force in man found healthier channels of expression in the Jihad, the enslavement of *dhimmis* and the *shikar*.

Part II deals with justice and generosity of the Sultan. It gives a pathological study of anger and describes how Firuz Shah turned the irascibility and violence of human temper into less harmful channels. It is herein claimed that Firuz Shah completely eliminated the shedding of human blood. The only class of people discontented in Firuz Shah's reign were the executioners and only cases of spilling human blood were venous operations or nasal emissions. The various sects of Islam are dealt with in great detail. The reforms of Firuz Shah and his pious and beneficent activities are noted here. For this topic and for other common topics, the compiler of *Sirat* has freely drawn upon, and at times verbally incorporated passages from the *Futuh-i-Firuz Shahi*. The public works of Firuz Shah and his repair and restoration of old monuments are also described at length. An interesting detail recorded is that during the

construction of a palace at Firuzabad, an acacia tree that interfered with the engineer's plans was spared by Firuz Shah's orders as a crow had a nest there. The description of the removal of Asoka's pillars is most elaborate. How the pillars were uprooted, how they were laid on cotton quilts, how they were then covered from end to end by leather, how they were put on a cart with 42 wheels, how they were transferred across the river Jamna and how finally they were set up at their present sites—all this is graphically described. The uprooting, the transport and the setting up of these huge monoliths were no doubt great feats of engineering and the compiler of *Sirat* has fully exploited the subject with a view to impress the readers with Firuz Shah's extraordinary achievement. This portion of *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* has been translated and published in the Archaeological Memoir, No. 52. A collection of Firuz Shah's wise sayings is also given in Part II. The account of the abolition of taxes is very valuable as it has helped to clear up a few uncertainties. An account of the State Hospital and the *Divan-i-Khairat* (Department which granted financial aid to poor parents for the marriage of their sons and daughters) is also given here. Firuz insisted that parents and children should discharge their duties towards each other. His advice to those who had passed the prime of their life makes interesting reading. He rebuked those who asked his permission to dye their beards. He advised them to pass the last years of their lives in prayer and penitence, and enabled them to do so by relieving them of state duties. Penitence has been defined thus: one should critically examine one's past life, remember misdeeds of all variety that one has committed and try to make amends for them.

Part III deals with the fortune, prosperity and miracles of Firuz Shah. It contains a detailed discussion of the relation of the Delhi Sultan with the Abbasid caliphs, the legal position of the Sultan and the obligation of the people towards him and *vice-versa*. (The portion covering the relation of the Sultan with the Caliph has been fully dealt with by Prof. Shaikh Abdur Rashid in his article entitled *Firuz Shah's Investiture by the Caliph* published in *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh of July, 1950). An interesting point in this connection is that according to Firishtha, the Caliph had also sent a mandate of recognition to Muhammad Shah the Bahmani King of Deccan in 760/61. But according to *Sirat*, the mandate of 764/1363 recognized Firuz Shah's imperial authority on the whole of India including the Deccan. It appears that Firuz Shah protested to the Caliph against his issuing investiture of authority to any Indian ruler other than himself. For in the next mandate, dated 766/1365 the

Caliph says " Let Firuz Shah know that neither my grant father, nor my father, nor myself have despatched a mandate to any of the Indian princes, excepting the occupant of the throne of Delhi." (*Sirat* f. 270). In discussing the relation of the Sultan and the people, the author of the *Sirat* underlines the duty of the people to obey the Sultan implicitly and fortifies his argument by references to sacred literature as well as certain treatises on law.

Part IV is entitled "Knowledge, Sagacity and Science." (علم وعقل وحکمت)

There is not much of historical interest in it. It gives a detailed account of Firuz Shah's knowledge of Astronomy, Medicine and related sciences. Firuz Shah is shown here as a physician, curing people who came to him of their diseases.

## BABUR THE HUMANE AND JUST

If, indeed humanity and justice are the aspects which could be found latent in the very nature of a man and not merely skin-deep, no better example could be cited than that of Zahiruddin Babur. He was the Empire Founder and not "The Empire Builder of the 16th Century" as stands the misgiven title of a book by Prof. Rush-Brooke Williams.

Zahiruddin, surnamed Babur, may be described by some as born with a silver spoon in his mouth, for his father was after all the fiefholder of Farghana—a fragment of Timur's Central Asian Empire. Little perhaps was realised at the time, however, that the baby born in a feudal family was not going to have a bed of roses in the days to come. The very death of 'Umar Sheikh Mirza inaugurated a period of toil and trouble for Babur who was not yet eleven and was destined to become the shuttlecock of fortune as the years rolled on.

Indian history is replete with examples which so many time tested the nerves and nature of Zahiruddin Babur—examples which could and would have easily crippled the nerves of a mediocre person or an ordinary mortal but not of our hero-adventurer. It was as a result of his adventurous and thrilling life which Babur passed before he came to the throne of India that he formed his habits and notions on life which are manifest on so many occasions in his later career.

By far the most important features of his character were his humanity and sense of justice. It is surprisingly happy to find that Babur did not sacrifice the one at the alter of the other, rather he kept the pendulum of judgment moving in between the two !

The humanity of Babur is roused to the full when we see—Khusraw Shah blind one of his benefactors' sons and murder the other. 'A hundred thousand curses,' he shouts, 'light on him who planned and did a deed so horrible ! Up to the very verge of resurrection,' he continues his denunciation, 'let him who hears of this act of Khusraw Shah curse him ;

The ultra-human attitude of Babur comes to the lime-light when he issues an order to his people, while marching through Bhira. "Do not hurt or harm the flocks and herds of these people, not even their cotton ends and broken needles." The sense of justice of Babur plays

not an unimportant part when it is reported to him that some of his men had not strictly complied with his orders and consequently harassed the people. Peremptory orders are issued forth with for some of the defaulters to be executed ; while the noses of the rest were to be chopped off. This punishment may be regarded cruel from the quasi-humanitarian point of view, but in those despotic days it was the one and the only means to set a good and lasting example. Yet another illustration supports our contention incontrovertibly. It was during Babur's first campaign in India that at a place known as Yam in 1497 some of his soldiers attacked and deprived some of the traders of the town of their valuables and merchandise. "Such was the discipline of our army," with a pardonable pride Babur records in his *Memoris*, "that when an order to restore every thing that was appropriated was given nothing, not a tag of cotton, not a broken needle's point, remained in the possession of any man of the force before the first watch of the next day. All was back with its owners." Were we to read in between the lines of the historical fact, it would be proved to the hilt how much humanitarian kind and just Babur was. Surely no piece of modern humanitarian example can stand a comparison to it. These are but a few and widely known examples of scores of others which could well be cited in the present context.

It is regrettable, if not tragic, that some personages who have enriched our knowledge of Indo-Pakistan History in no little measure and whose memory we will long cherish for their scholarly contribution, have not very well understood our bouyant hero, or is it because it is too much for them to pay Babur his due? Instead of appreciating certain moves and manners of Babur by studying through proper perspective, they have rather off-shot some of the remarks. They have indiscretely, if not deliberately, sacrificed, in some cases, no doubt, truth for the tinsel, fact for the fable and matter for the art.

The well known authority on Zahiruddin Babur, Prof. Stanley Lane Poole had thought it proper in another context to inflict upon Zahiruddin Babur, has verdict of "Cultured inhumanities, Babur sometimes forgot to be humane." Lane Poole is indignant (or so he seems to be) at Babur for the latter took a "bloody revenge when an attempt was made to poison him." He complains the taster was cut in pieces, the cook flayed alive, a woman trampled under the elephant and another woman shot. (They were proved to be accomplices in the plot). With all respects and profound reverence to the eminent scholar, may we humbly suggest to

him the best method to deal with this plot—the plot to bring the life to an end of no less a person than the mighty and despotic king of India. No man in his senses, much less 'the absolute and all-powerful king of India, could take it lying down. We leave it to the conscientious judgment of Lane Poole what his sentiments and reactions would have been if such a fate were experienced by him!

There was one more occasion in the life of our hero-king where the above quoted scholar does not see eye to eye with Babur. Indeed the intensity of Lane Poole's tirade against Babur on this occasion too is in no way less than on the previous one. Let us examine the incident in Babur's own words. "As the man of Bajaur were rebels-rebels to the followers of Islam, and as, besides their rebellion and hostility, they followed the customs and usages of infidels, while even the name of Islam was extirpated among them, they were all put to sword and their wives and families made prisoners. Perhaps upwards of 3000 were killed." They unwary reader is likely to be deceived, as presumably our historian under reference, by the terse and rather inspired passage found in Babur's Memoirs. Before analysing the above passage we will do well to keep in mind the whims and scruples of the people in general and the Muhammedans in particular of those days. The medieval age was the period when fanaticism and communal passions ruled supreme and unless they were effectively worked upon, no administrative system could last longer or any king rule successfully. This was not in India, but in Europe too where the devastating fire of Reformation and Counter-Reformation was eating into the very body politic of the various countries.

By the above-quoted passage it may not be supposed that it necessarily happened what is related there. It may just be that in order to take his people all the more in his confidence he gave vent to his or rather to their feelings, on paper and not in effect. And even if he did perpetrate what is mentioned above he committed nothing new, for it was surely in keeping with the spirit of the times and Babur himself, of course, was a creation of his own times. There is another aspect of this incident as well. Babur was still a homeless wanderer in search of monarchic fortunes. It was his first major territorial gain when the gallant the Bajauris were defeated by him. It was to instil awe and fear of the future founder of the Mughul Empire in India in the hearts of the people in general, and the Bajauris in particular, that the punishment was given as is recorded in the *Memoirs*, if it is to be accepted in the strictly literal sense. Thus

we see that though Bābur may be described to have erred, (if at all he did) on the right side only. It were the exigencies of the time and not his beastly nature (which certainly he did not have) which pointed to the course, Babur was forced to adopt. Could we then, in fairness, associate ourselves with Lane Poole's remark, "Despite his generosity and nobility of character the savage Mangol nature peeps out sometimes (in Bābur)". Indeed to take a common-sense view of the above sentence we find a no less contradiction in terms. How is it possible that a man who is acknowledged as generous and noble in character could at times, turn out inhuman and that too of the savage Mongol stamp, it is for Lane Poole to explain!

Mr. S. M. Edwardes in his book "*Babur: Diarist and Despot*", has also spoken, at some occasions, unjustly of Babur. In the first place his versions is, according to his own confession, very much influenced (if not coloured) by his study of Lane Poole's Babur. Secondly like so many unwary English and European writers of Indian History he has not cared to go deep into the facts. Writing in a flambuoyant way he says, "true Mussalman as he was, he (*i.e.* Babur) found no room in his creed for religious tolerance". His fury continues, "Nurtured in the orthodox tenets of the Sunni sect, he regarded other forms of belief with contempt and aversion....." Nothing is farther from truth than the above contention. The extent of Babur's broad-mindedness and toleration would very well be clear from the account that follows.

Last but certainly not the least we have the will of Zahirudāin Babur executed for the benefit of his eldest son and successor Nasiruddin Humayun—Humayun for whose recovery from severe illness Babur sacrificed his own valued life, a historical fact too common and widely known to require any comment. It is quite natural and absolutely in the fitness of things for Babur to have put in writing what he must have deemed to be most essential if not indispensable in the state-craft; for his son and successor to act upon and thereby to weather the political storm and stress that might show ominous signs in the days to come. It is from this will that we can very well realise and appreciate the inner-most condition of his heart as regards his humanity and kindness towards his subjects. The will is reproduced verbatim as follows :—

"God be praised. Secret testament of Zahiruddin Muhamad Bābur Bādshāh Ghāzī to Prince Nasiruddin Humāyun. May God prolong his life. For the stability of the empire it is written. On my son! The

realm of Hindustan is full of diverse creeds. Praise be to God, the Righteous, the Glorious, the Highest. Who hath granted the empire of it to you. It is but proper that you with your heart free from all religious bigotry, should dispense justice according to the tenets of each community. And in particular, refrain from the sacrifice of cow for that way lies the conquest of the hearts of the men of India: an the subjects of the realm will, through royal favour, be devoted to you. The temples and abodes of worship of no community under imperial sway you should damage. Dispense justice so that the sovereign may be happy with the subject and likewise the subjects with their sovereign. The progress of Islam is better by the sword of kindness and not by the sword of oppression.

“Ignore the disputations of Shias and Snnnis; for therein lies the weakness and disintegration of Islam. And bring together the subjects with different beliefs in the manner of the four elements, so that the body-politic may be free from the various ailments. Remember the deeds of Hadrat Taimur Sahib Qirān (Lord of the Conjunction) so that you may become well conversant with matters of Government. And on us is but the duty to advise.”

There is a spirit of humanity, a cult of broadmindedness and an inextinguishable thirst and unbounded passion for justice which breathe throughtout the will cited above! Could any sane man or woman, young or old, historian or politician after recalling these hard facts of history think for a moment that Babur was anything but human? Let posterity judge and give its verdict conscientiously.



## SIR SAYYID AHMED KHAN'S POLITICAL IDEAS AND ACTIVITIES.

If it were necessary to draw a single line dividing the Medieval India from the Modern India the epoch demarcating it might be taken as the war of Independence of 1857-58. The unrest which began with the mutiny of some Units of the Indian Army spread to the civil population. In the end the phantom of a Moghul Emperor and his Court vanished from Delhi, the last pretender to the honours of the Maratha Peshwa disappeared from Cawnpore. The direct Government of all the Indian territories passed from the East Indian Company to the British Crown in 1858.

Sir Sayyid Ahmad's political career begins after 1857. He was an eye witness to the events of the great national tragedy. It came to him as an electric shock. Maulana Hali in his *Hayat-i-Jawd* gives an idea of the reactions of this event. He says, "The destruction of the Muslim families of Delhi, Moradabad and Bijnore made Sir Sayyid just like a man whose house was half burnt and he was striving to save the rest. The Government began to doubt the allegiance of all the Muslims. The Muslims became totally hopeless about any merciful attitude of the British. The English newspapers daily brought out articles against the Muslims. In the courts and offices the number of the Muslims became negligible. In short, Muslims had no respect and stability. Sir Sayyid felt it very much and decided to migrate to Egypt, but soon he abandoned the idea of migration and decided to cast his lot with the nation."

Naturally, the question arises here, why all that anger and distrust was directed against the Muslim? The answer to this is that the Muslims being the ruling class before the rise of the power of East India Company, naturally the English were suspicious of them as they had lost a King—the titular Moghul head of the Government who, although he did nothing to harness the forces of opposition to the Company, provided a symbol—and this had created a void in the minds of the Muslims. Hali depicts this suspicion in graphic words when he says, "The condition had become so bad that there was no need of condemning a Muslim. His being a Muslim was enough crime." The Hindus had also participated in the War yet they had consolidated themselves in such a manner as not to give rise to any suspicion. They had lost nothing; moreover the English wanted to make a balance against the Muslims and therefore

they enhanced the position of the Hindus. The Hindus specially of Bengal had adopted the English language for acquiring good posts in the Government and thus they were in touch with the English. The Muslims still ignored the English language. The Muslim apathy to the English language was misunderstood and strengthened suspicions. Fear breeds hate and hate breeds danger.

A fine picture of these conditions is depicted in Dr. Hunter's essay, 'Our Indian Mussalmans'. Briefly Dr. Hunter's thesis was what if the Government wished to avoid the endless repetition of 'Wahabi murders' and the enormous expenditure of annual military campaigns against the 'Fanatic Colony' on the Frontier, it must remove that 'chronic sense of wrong' which has grown up in the hearts of the Musalmans under British rule. The 'chronic sense of wrong' was illustrated by Dr. Hunter from the conditions prevailing in Bengal. The condition of the Muslim land owing classes of the Eastern Bengal was hopeless. They had sunk in the abyss of debt. In the public services, which had been the principal means of livelihood for the educated Muslims came in India, their number had become negligible. Their representation bore no relation either to their population or their historical tradition.

In some of the departments the position was as such:—

Name of the post.				Muslims.	Hindus.
1.	Assistant Government Engineers	...	...	Nil	14
2.	Apprentices	...	...	Nil	14
3.	Sub-Engineers	...	...	1	24
4.	Overseers	...	...	2	63
5.	Office of Accounts	...	...	Nil	50
6.	Upper subordinate Department	...	...	Nil	22

Hunter pays a glowing tribute to the Hindu intellect in the acquirement of these posts but, he adds. "The truth is that when the Country passed under our rule, the Mussalmans were the superior race and superior not only in the stoutness of heart and strength of arm but in power of political organisation and the Science of political Government." The first was the neglect of modern education and the second was the British Governments prejudiced policy towards the Muslims. 'Not only were the Muslims economically crushed, educationally and socially also their position was deliberately depressed by the Government.'

It was in such circumstances and precarious conditions that Sayyid Ahmad Khan started his political career. The responsibility for the progress and welfare of the Indian Muslims which had, formerly been shouldered by the Muslim Government had now to be discharged by themselves and their well being in future depended on their own efforts.

In 1857 Sayyid Ahmad Khan was 40. He had spent nearly 20 years in judicial service, and was known as a just, competent Government official, who was interested in the general welfare of the people and spent his leisure in scholarly pursuits.

But the shock of 1857 threw him in the political field and with his magnetic personality he entered the political arena, led the Muslims for nearly half a century and unconsciously proved himself to be the first architect of Pakistan.

It was after the War of Independence of 1857 that the British imperialism was at its worst. Severe punishments were meted out and heavy toll of life was exacted from the Indians. It was at this critical juncture that Sir Sayyid wrote his remarkable essay : '*The Causes of the Indian Revolt.*' The courage and fearlessness of the author is apparent from the heavy criticism which he levelled against the imperialistic Government when most of the country was under Martial Law. Sir Sayyid believed that the Englishmen had erred in assessing the true significance of the war. His monumental work caused much suspicion in the British circles. Mr. Cecil Bede the then foreign Secretary in the Viceroy's Council, said, 'This man has written a very seditious article and he should be duly punished.' But later on Mr. Bede had to change his mind. Many other Englishmen, Sir William and Lord Lawrence for instance, were convinced by Sir Sayyid's argument. The book provided a clear analysis of the great conflagration.

According to Sir Sayyid the basic cause which ultimately led to the great revolt was the absence of Indian representatives to present the Indian point of view in the upper councils governing the country.

He said, "Most men.....agree that it is highly conducive to the welfare and prosperity of Government.....indeed it is essential to its stability.. .....that the people should have a voice in its Councils." He has summed up the various causes under five heads.

1. Misunderstanding of the governed (People) : Under this heading the misunderstanding about interference in religion comes first. The

doubt was the outcome of the fact that the British officers of the Government were in the habit of giving large sums of money to the missionaries with the intention of covering their expenses. Besides this the officers were in the habit of talking to their Indian subordinates about religion and some of them ordered subordinates to come to their houses and listen to the preachings of the missionaries. The open letter of Reverend A. Revend (a priest of Calcutta) declaring that the people of India should adopt the state religion was highly objectionable. By these activities of the Christians the Muslims were more grieved than the Hindus. The Hindus were accustomed to their religion as custom, but the Muslims took their religion as Commandments of God and a slight deviation made them a 'Kafir.' The Legislative Council also tempered with the religious matters. (The Act of 1850).

2. Issue of such orders and Acts which were not appropriate for any Indian Government: The foremost in this connection were the Laws providing for the resumption of revenue free lands granted by the previous Governments. "The people thought that the Government not only did nothing for them itself but undid what former Governments had done." The auctioneering of the Zamindaris was also one of the unwise acts of the Government.

The strictness in revenue settlement and the issue of stamps were also resented.

3. The ignorance of the Government about the conditions of the people and their hardships: This ignorance made the people averse to the Government. There was no exchange of ideas between the governors and the governed as has always been the custom of Muslims in countries which they subjected to their rule. Sir Sayyid made it clear that it was the duty of the Government to win the friendship of its subjects. He said 'The English Government has been in existence upwards of a century and upto the present hour it has not secured the affection of the people.'

The poverty of the Indians specially that of the Muslims also made them desperate. The rebels often employed people in lieu of an anna or two. When poverty had reached to such a point, it was clear why the allegiance of the people was shaken.

4. The abandonment of policies which were essential for any Government ruling over India: The British did not extend the hand of friendship towards Indians. They considered Indians as their slaves. Even

the respectable Indians had no worth in the eyes of the English officers. The district officers were harsh and insolent in their behaviour.

5. The mal-administration of the Army; (a) The dearth of the English Army. (b) The pride of the Indian soldiers as they thought themselves to be the chief instrument in the occupation of India by the English. (c) The punishment of the sepoy who had protested against the use of greased cartridges. "The prisoners on seeing their hands and feet manacled looked at their medals and wept. They remembered their services and thought that they had been ill recompensed." After the punishments of sepoy in Meerut the faith of the Army on the Government was lost.

In the end Sir Sayyid gives reasons why the "Mutiny" did not spread in the Punjab.

Thus Sir Sayyid had produced a document which was unequalled upto that time. It was very dangerous to write such a book at the time when most of the country was under Martial Law. The book was not written by a man who had studied Mill, Locke and Rousseau or who had heard the slogan of 'no taxation without representation.' It was the clarion call of a man who had felt the shocks of the "Mutiny" and wanted to save his people from its after-effects. Its effects were far reaching and it became a manifesto for the coming generations. It pointed the way towards the future struggle for constitutional Government. Its immediate effects are not far to seek. The book was translated and discussed in the India Office and became the starting point of many reforms. *e. g.* the appointment of Indians to the Legislative Council which began almost within a year of the publication of the book. Hume, the father of the Indian National Congress, is understood to have said, "It was after reading Syed Ahmad's book on the causes of 'Mutiny,' that I first felt the need of having a forum of public opinion of India and eventually the Indian National Congress came into existence."

Sir Sayyid was shocked to see the results of the war and thus came out with this book. The reasons for this intense and sharp reaction were two-fold—personal and national. His personal loss was heavy but when he looked to the losses suffered by the Muslim Community his grief was inconsolable. He said, "At that time I did not believe that my people would regain even something of their former prosperity and I could not bear to see the condition in which they were at that time..... Believe me this grief aged me and my hair turned grey." But Sir Sayyid was

not the man to lose courage. He commenced his work by writing the 'Causes of the Indian Revolt.' He cleared the misconception that the Mutiny was a Muslim revolt by a series of articles under the heading, "The Loyal Mohammadans of India." in which faithful acts of the Muslim noblemen were recorded.

His political acumen was not limited to these pamphlets, but it had practical aspects too. He well understood the meaning of co-operation in the political field. He cannot be called the founder of the "Indian Association" but he was one of its renowned exponents. He opened one of its branches in Aligarh. The Indian Association can rightly be called the forerunner of the Indian National Congress.

Sir Sayyid had some definite ideals before him which he asserted in his various speeches and letters. Let us consider them in detail.

1. In connection with the equality of Indians and the English men he said, "I have firm belief that until and unless, there is racial discrimination in the Laws of the country, no friendship can be established between the Indians and the Englishmen. It was under this impression that he supported the Ilbert Bill in 1883. It was under protest against this discrimination, that he had left the Durbar at Agra.

He founded the Scientific Society at Aligarh as the meeting place of the English, the Hindus and the Muslims.

2. He praised the electoral bodies and foresaw the time when the Indians would themselves make their own Laws.

3. He challenged the validity of despotic Government and he wrote, 'In fact now there is no time when the people liked the despotic Government and now there are no such virtues which were intermingled with the evils in the bygone days. The people who think that in India the despotic Government (as it was in the past) instead of Constitutional Government will be beneficial are wrong.

4. Sir Sayyid also emphasized that democracy as it existed in England would not succeed here. He condemned the evil effects of the political agitation. I think by political agitation he meant the armed agitation.

5. He clearly remarked that the people or the masses were the greatest instrument in shaping the Government. If the people were educated and

refined they will make the Government as they like. Here he touched the main viewpoint of the modern political philosophy.

6. On the issue of 'Native Volunteers' Sir Sayyid supported Hume and vehemently advocated that, "If you want us to trust you, (Englishmen) should also trust us."

7. 'The Indians were a nation' Sir Sayyid defined nation' as the people of one country. He said that the word Hindu or Muslim was a religious word, otherwise the inhabitants of this country whether Muslims, Hindus or Christians are one nation.

In his tour of Punjab, he further strengthened his argument. His favourite simile about the Hindu and Muslim Co-operation was that of a bride with two lustrous eyes. "Even if one eye is damaged, the beauty of the bride would suffer." Out of regard for Hindus he prohibited the Cow slaughter in the College precincts.

Personally he had many Hindu friends and he kept the doors of his College open for all communities. Aligarh's first graduate was a Hindu named Babu Ishwari Prashad.

These activities brought Sir Sayyid on the fore-front of the national politics.

Lala Bhagat Ram while presenting an address to Sayyid Ahmad Khan in Jullunder said, "Sayyid Sahib is not a leader and associate of one Community or sect. He is as sincere towards the followers of Keshab Chandra Sen and Swami Daya Nand Sirsuti as he is towards the Muslims. He is a patriot."

The representative of Brahmo Samaj and Arya Samaj also in their address acknowledged the work of Sir Sayyid as a patriot. They said, "We thank you on behalf of all the Hindus for your efforts in the Legislative Council and in other places of India. The Hindu Rajas and Maharajas from whom the Hindus had great expectations did not prove themselves equal to it. On the other hand, you, Sir, supported heartily the Ilbert Bill and such other propositions in the Council."

However, if Sir Sayyid would have ended his political career at this stage he would have faded into oblivion as many other national leaders had. It is as a Muslim leader, that he made his mark. He was primarily

a Muslim leader and he felt that, "Justice" could not mean injustice to his own people and spoke fearlessly when the interests of the Muslims were threatened. In one of his speeches in the Punjab, he clearly warned that in India where only Hindus or Muslims flourished, there would be no security. He adumbrated the principles of 'Live and let live.'

He had earlier realized that the Muslims had become backward because they had not taken modern education. Primarily with this aim he had started the Aligarh Movement of which the Aligarh University is a product. It was on this achievement that the 'Times of London' named him as the "Prophet of Education". Pandit Nehru praising the efforts of Sir Sayyid for the Muslim education comments as follows, 'Sir Sayyid's decision on the point that all the efforts be concentrated on Muslim education was correct. Without education, in my opinion the Muslims could not take part in the nation building but rather they would become slaves of the Hindus, who were far advanced in education and more stable in financial position'. *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq*—was the chief organ in propagating these reforms. In 1886, Sir Sayyid founded the Muslim Educational Conference, which later on became the political mouthpiece of the Muslims of India and the fore-runner of the Muslim League.

In 1867, when Sir Sayyid was at Benares however a development took place which diverted the course of his activities and this change has effected the course of the history of this sub-continent, it is more important now when we have begun to see the past facts in a new light.

Hali relates the event as follows, "In 1867 some Hindu leaders of Benares resolved that as far as possible the use of Urdu language written in Persian script should be discontinued in Government Courts and be replaced by the Hindi language written in the Devanagiri script. . . Sir Sayyid used to say that this was the first occasion when he felt that it was impossible for the Hindus and the Muslims to progress as a single nation and for any one to work for both of them simultaneously. "In his talk with Mr. Shakespeare the Division Commissioner of Benares, Sir Sayyid prophesied, "Now I am convinced that both these communities will not join whole-heartedly in anything. At present, there is no open hostility between the two communities, but on account of the so-called educated people, it will increase immensely in future. He, who lives, will see."

Pandit Nehru has correctly analysed the division of Hindus and Muslims in the following words, "The idea of Hindu nation took its birth



and then the same idea spread in the Muslims and they adopted Urdu as their own language. The controversy arose on the use of the Urdu language in the offices and Courts and later on took the communal shape.”

Sir Sayyid on another occasion, in one of his letters to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk wrote, “At Babu Shiv Prashad’s instigation, Hindus have generally resolved to do away with the Urdu language and Persian script, which is a memento of the Muslim rule in this country... ..This is a proposal which will make Hindu Muslim unity impossible.

These were the earlier repurcussions but soon a change came over Sayyid Ahmad Khan which separated the destinies of the Muslims and Hindus. In 1887, Sayyid Ahmad Khan asked the Muslims to desist from taking any part in the Indian National Congress. Although some of the Hindus became angry by the aforesaid attitude. Yet the step was very wise as is now clear from the later events.

If we study the communal problem more deeply, we will find some very trenchant arguments in favour of Sir Sayyid’s non-participation in the Congress. It was in December 1888 that he delivered his epoch making speech. At that time the Indian National Congress was a child of two years, product of the fancy of Mr. A. O. Hume, Secretary of the Government of India, and encouraged by the Viceroy and the English officers. The Congress and the high English officials were working together so closely that at one stage, the Congress leaders desired that the provincial Governors should preside over its open session. It was this sort of Congress that Sayyid Ahmad Khan stood to oppose and put forward two main points in his long speech.

1. The first was that if the higher services were to be filled after competitive examinations without any reservation, they would all go to the community which had an early start in education-*viz.* the Bengali Hindus.

2. Secondly if democracy on the English lines was introduced in the country. Muslims will always be in a minority of one to four. It will be like the game of dice in which one man had four dice and the other only one.

He concluded his speech by the following memorable words, “The proposals of the Congress are exceedingly for a country which is inhabited

by two different notions..... Now suppose that all the English.....were to leave India..... then who would be the ruler of India? Is it possible that under these circumstances two nations—the Mohammadans and the Hindus—could sit on the same throne and remain equal, in power? Most certainly not. To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and the inconceivable.”

The speech was received with mixed feelings in the different quarters. Hume called it sheer madness, Bengalis condemned it and some of the Indian Muslims were amazed.

Syed Tufail Ahmad in his work, '*Muṣalmano ka Roshan Mustaqbil*' and Messrs. Asoka Mehta and Achut Patwardhan in '*The Communal Triangle in India*' have suggested that Sayyid Ahmad's opposition to the Congress and his attitude towards the democratic institutions in India was inspired by the European staff of the Aligarh College and specially by Mr. Theodore Beck, the Principal of the College.

But the aforesaid assertion is clearly refuted by the fact that Sir Sayyid had visualized the dangers of the rising Hindu militantism before Mr. Theodore Beck visited India. His famous prophecy before Mr. Shakespeare, referred to above, and his comment on the 15th January, 1883, on Lord Ripon's Local Self Government Bill in the following words, "The system of election pure and simple cannot be safely adopted in India" were expressed long before the so-called influence of the European Staff.

Sir Sayyid's opinion further hardened when the Hindu Muslim riot broke out in Bombay in 1893. A general anti-Muslim movement started in the various parts of the country. It was a rise of militant Hinduism. The two usual manifestations of it were firstly the Ganpati processions and playing of the music before the mosque at the prayer time. Secondly the violent opposition to the slaughter of cows. The protest was directed against the Muslims and not the Englishmen.

Connected with these two was the economic boycott of the Muslims. These troubles were specially fomented by the active support of Mr. B. G. Tilak. His object was to stimulate hostility to *Melachas* (Mohammadans and the English). The Muslims naturally became suspicious and analysed correctly that if the Hindus were so violent under the British Government, what attitude they would take when their majority comes into power. The latter events clear the position, and now in 1952 we can

clearly understand the fears visualized in the nineties of the past century. The Hindus instead of clearing their position made it far worse. Time went on and India's expression of extremism widened day by day.

The state of affairs as described above intensified Sir Sayyid's fears. He understood the impossibility of bringing the two diverse elements together. A great nationalist of his days, he saw the uselessness of the sugar coating process and thus chose a way which kept the individuality of the Muslims.

It will be interesting to note here that the famous split between the extremist group and the liberal group in the Congress had not taken place. The Hindus were giving vent to their feelings of revivalism through the Congress. Could a true Muslim leader have chosen any other way than opposing the Congress? This is not controversial now.

Maulana Mohammad Ali not a partial critic of Sir Sayyid commented on his attitude towards Congress in the following words, "I am constrained to admit that no well wisher of Mussalmans of India as a whole, could have followed a very different course in leading Mussalmans."

On December 30, 1893 Mohammadan Defence Association was organised at Aligarh. Mr. Beck was instrumental in it. The Association was of no material importance. The adverse critics of Sir Sayyid take the Defence Association as the result of Anglo-Muslim alliance that he wanted to establish the British rule in India.

Let us study it in detail

There is no doubt that Sir Sayyid took some steps in establishing friendly relations between the English and the Indians. But it was a temporary cure of a necessary evil. The English were the ruling nation. They were suspicious about the activities of the Indians. They had not forgotten the events of the Indian Mutiny. Thus to clear the misunderstanding and to safeguard the interests of the Indians by establishing friendly relations with the English was not harmful and not the outcome of the slavish mentality. He had seen the fruitless attempt of the armed mutineers and was convinced that the Indians were still not capable of an armed revolt. And therefore he suggested the pacific means. The Anglo-Muslim alliance was a part of the peaceful methods. It will be opportune to point out here that he never flattered the English people.

He never sat idle when he found an opportunity to criticize the English. The famous '*Causes of the Indian Revolt*' severely criticized the British Administration. In his last days he is said to have written, "In my opinion the time has not come yet, and perhaps will never come when our European friends, conquerors of this country and naturally full of pride of their conquests will condescend to sit on the same bench with a conquered and naturally hated Indian who is desirous of performing his duties with equal honour and respect requisite to his high position. If the Indian wants to keep his self—respect as an honest and well bred gentleman, his life becomes unbearable." Thus we see that he was no flatterer of the English, the fault, if any, was that he saw the things through their right perspective.

Exactly at the time when Sir Sayyid was reviving the spirits of the Indian Mussalmans an event took place, which was also crucial at that moment. The event was the changing attitude of the Indian Mussalmans towards Turkey. Sir Sayyid himself had greatly encouraged friendship between Turkey and the Indian Muslims. He had idealised Turks as an models of modernised Mussalmans. In his various articles he had paid glowing tribute to the Turkish culture. The Turkish Coat adopted at the Aligarh College as compulsory College dress was the out-come of these very feelings. It happened that Mr. Gladstone the prime mover of the Anti-Turkish movement was the Prime Minister of Great Britain, and he was using all his force to disintegrate Turkey. There started a war between Turkey and Greece. As far as the sympathies of the Indian Muslims were concerned they were naturally with the Turks. But the Indian Muslims wanted to go farther for they thought the Turkish Caliphs as their Caliph. The combination of spiritual and secular powers in the Muslim Caliph naturally led them much farther. Here Sayyid Ahmad Khan stood and opposed staunchly such ideas. In a series of articles he maintained that no doubt the Indian Muslims had sympathies with the Turks but they had no political connection with them. The Turkish Caliph was not their Caliph. He advocated that in the Moghul period in India, the Indians had never acknowledged the Turkish Caliph as their Caliph.

It was a very important step. Since the Mutiny he had worked assiduously to smooth out differences between the Indian Mussalmans and the British and now it would have been unwise step to adopt Turkish Caliph as their own Caliph and thus implicate them in a manner which

would not benefit the Turks in any way but might prove dangerous for the Indian Muslims.

The later Turkish history shows that the Turks themselves disowned their titular Caliph.

Sir Sayyid died on 26th March, 1898 at Aligarh. Sayyid Ahmad was the man who for nearly half a century led the Muslims and took them out from the abyss of disintegration. He established their unity, educated them and made them ready to receive the reigns of the Government. He proved as a Beacon lighting a dark period when the Muslims would have been subjected to seldom. His magnetic personality shook their old beliefs. He filled the big void created in the history of the Muslim community by the disappearance of Muslim rule. He is a connecting link between the frustrated Muslims of 1857 and the rising Muslim nationhood of the early 20th century. It will be relevant if I point out that he harnessed the genius of the Muslim nation. He collected a band of zealous workers around him. He knew how to make them work together.

It was in his time that the idea of separate nations of Hindu and Muslims became more established and thus by becoming the first leader of the Indian Muslims (after 1857) he laid the foundation stone of Pakistan. This idea may not have been clear to his mind but the essentials were established at that very time.

It is apt to say that during the vast expanse of his political career he laid the outlines of politics for the future leader of the Muslim League. He constructed the arsenal of Muslim India or the by-gone days. He established on a firm footing a language which can now boast to be the State Language of Pakistan. Thus he can be called without any hesitation the First Architect of Pakistan.

## THE FIRST PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENT IN BENGAL.

Bengal at the advent of the Portuguese.

Early in the sixteenth century, when the first Portuguese traders bent their way to the shores of Bengal in quest of new horizons and a wider scope of commercial activities, proselytisation and political ascendancy, Bengal was ruled by a dynasty of independent Muslim kings of Arab origin which was founded in 1493 by Alāuddin Husain Shāh, who held his court in the historic city of Gaur. This dynasty lasted nearly half a century when in 1538, Sher Shah, made himself the master of Bengal. In the beginning the Portuguese had therefore to contend with the independent Muslim kings and only a few years later, with the successors of Sher Shah. Neither these rulers nor the Afghans were so liberal-minded as the Mughuls proved to be, when after the fall of Daūd Khān in 1576, they wrested the kingdom of Bengal from the Afghan Chiefs,

### Geography of Bengal.

The geography of Bengal was not exactly what it is today. It was an irony of fate that in India towns and cities should have risen and fallen depending as they did on the fickleness of a river that shifted its course here and there ; or on the whims of a ruler who fixed his heart on a newer spot ; or still more on the grim destinies which in every age create kingdoms and as quickly destroy them.

*Chittagong.*—When the Portuguese came to Bengal, Chittagong was its chief port and main gate-way to the royal capital of Gaur. Its geographical position lent its importance. . . Situated as it is at the mouth of the Meghna river, this port was most convenient for navigation. The Meghna was the principal route to Gaur, the other being up the Hooghly. With the fall of Gaur, Chittagong began to decline, and trade was diverted to Satgaon, which in its turn was supplanted by Hooghly. Chittagong was always a bone of contention between the Rajas of Arakans, Assam and Tippera, who strove for the supremacy of this sea port until the Mughuls, conquest of Bengal. So the first Portuguese commanders who came to Bengal, first entered Chittagong. It was this city which is referred to in the early Portuguese writings as 'the city of Bengal'. They called it *Porte Grande* (great port) in contradistinction to their *Porto Pequeno* (small port) in Satgaon. Hooghly eventually came to be known as *Porto Pequeno*.

*Satgaon*.—From ancient times the chief port and emporium of trade on the western side of Bengal, was Satgaon, situated on the river Saraswati, which branches off from the Hooghly below Tribeni and joins it higher up. The main current of the Hooghly till the middle of the 16th century streamed through Saraswati, hence the importance of Satgaon which was more accessible to large ships. The town of Hooghly was then a mere collection of huts. There were times when the Muslims of Dacca shipped from Satgaon, clad the Roman ladies, and when spices and other goods of Bengal that used to find their way to Rome through Egypt were very much appreciated there and fetched fabulous prices. Till the middle of the 16th century large vessels sailed up to Satgaon with merchandise. In Akbar's reign this port yielded an income of 12,00,000 *dams* or 30,000 rupees (Ain-i-Akbari, Pt. II, p. 412). But on the advent of the Portuguese that historic port had decayed, chiefly because the river Hooghly diverted its current through the main channel, and caused the silting up of the Saraswati which became unsuitable for navigation.

*Hooghly*.—This river Hooghly was not navigable for larger vessels, but lighter craft could transport to Satgaon and other places on either banks of the river the goods which the Portuguese disembarked at Garden Reach, Kalikatta (Calcutta) at that time was an insignificant village on the left bank. The towns of Hooghly, Chandernagore, Chinsura, Serampore and Barrackpore did not even exist in name. They flourished only as later European settlements.

### **Bengal an Attraction for Pirates.**

The geographical position of Bengal has considerably influenced its history. Away from the heart of India, it was a refuge for fugitive princes, who like Humāyūn Sher Shāh and Shah Jāhān made it the scene of their crowning exploits, Southern Bengal, woven as it is by a network of rivers as no other part of India, was calculated to offer the sea-faring people like the Arabs and the Portuguese, etc., the greatest scope for their instincts of navigation and love for adventure. Unfortunately this very geographical character of Bengal fostered a greed for piracy and plunder, the terrors of which still form the darkest themes of popular traditions. In a labyrinth of rivers, the adventurers could dive and dart, appear and disappear, ravage the country and escape with impunity. Hence Bengal has been the victim of exploits and privateering as the best and most convenient method of making a bid for wealth and power. The large tract of land overspread by thick jungles, known as the Sunderbuns, has been referred to as "a must of pirates".

*Bengal Trade* —Regarding the trade and wealth of Bengal, the Portuguese had the most sanguine expectations, which did not, indeed prove to be far from true. Vasco de Gama had already in 1498 taken to Portugal the following information "Bengal has a \* Moorish king and a mixed population of Christians and Moors. Its army may be about 24000 strong, 10000 being cavalry, and the rest infantry, with 400 war elephants. The country could export quantities of wheat and very valuable cotton goods, clothes which sell on the spot for 22 S 6 P fetch 90 S in Calicut. It abounds in silver." From time to time Albuquerque had written to king Manoel about the vast possibilities of trade and commerce in Bengal when the Portuguese actually established commercial relations in Bengal, they realised to their satisfaction what a mine of wealth they had found. Very appropriately indeed, did the Mughuls styled Bengal 'the Paradiso of India'.

### Early Portuguese expedition to Bengal

For almost 20 years after Vasco de Gama discovered the sea route to India, the Portuguese had no definite commerce with Bengal and only some stray Portuguese tradesmen frequented the coasts in the native crafts to sell or exchange their merchandise. In 1517 however, Albuquerque,† the Governor of the Portuguese possessions in the East, drafted Fernao Peres d'Andrade with 4 ships to open trade with Bengal in order to exclude the Arab merchants from their monopoly, but Fernao could not reach his destination on account of a ship wreck. In 1518 the successor of Albuquerque, Lopo Soares de Albergaria, despatched another commercial expedition to Bengal under D Joao de Silveira which landed at the mouth of the river Arakan, but subsequently moored at the port of Chittagong. De Silveira sent his compliments to the King of Bengal‡ as king in the name of the king of Portugal for facilities of trade and per-

\* Moors were a mixed race of the Arabs and the Berbers of North Africa who had embraced Islam and ruled over Andalus i.e., Spain and Portugal for nearly 7 centuries. The Portuguese therefore called all the Muslims as the Moors.

† As early as in 1513 he had written to king Manoel of Portugal "Bengal requires all our merchandise and is in need of it."

‡ It is doubtful who this king was. Husain Shah was at this time the king of Bengal, but according to *Raj Mala*, the king of Tipperah had conquered Chittagong from him in 1512, cf. O'Malley, *Chittagong Gazetteer*, p. 22 says "In 1517, when, as mentioned later it was visited by John De Silveira it was a port held by the kings of Arakan." But on the contrary de Barros, a Portuguese historian, states that at this time the king of Arakan was a vassal of the king of Bengal. Anyway it is related that Nauruddin Nusrat Shah the son of Husain Shah reconquered Chittagong from the king of Arakan.



mission to erect a factory where the Portuguese merchants could rest during their voyages and exchange goods with other parts of India. But before any reply was received by him, he imprudently plundered two local vessels and this unwarranted behaviour made the people of Bengal suspicious about the intentions of the Portuguese merchants from the very outset. Silveira was taken to be a corsair and the Governor of Chittagong made preparations for war. This unfriendly and war-like attitude implied the Portuguese to constitute themselves into a military power. Although they had originally come only for purpose of trade and evangelization, there arose from the difficulties that were put in their way and from the consequent commercial dispute, the necessity of defence by arms and from this grew up the idea of conquests.

Unable to land smoothly, Silveira continued to carry his unfriendly activities;" he captured another boat full of rice, he blockaded the port of Chittagong and paralyzed the whole sea trade of the province. The governor of Chittagong wanted to conclude a truce with the Portuguese Captain but the atmosphere on both sides was so surcharged with suspicion and misgiving that nothing could be done. Unsuccessful and disappointed Silveira ultimately returned to Ceylone.

*Expedition of Martin Affonso de Mello.*—Although Silveira had achieved nothing, it became an established custom from the time of his expedition to send annually to Bengal a Portuguese ship with merchandise till 1528, when an incident occurred which again put an end to this flow of Portuguese trade to the ports of Bengal. A Portuguese Captain Martim Affonso de Mello was overtaken by a storm near the coast of Bengal and his ships were washed ashore on unknown sandy banks between Chittagong and Arakan. His party was rescued by some fishermen who took him to the Governor of that place, Khuda Baksh Khan (Codoyascam) \* who was probably a vassal of Nasiruddin Nusrat Shah the king of Bengal. As Khudā Baksh Khān had a feud with a neighbouring chief, he employed these Portuguese to win a battle against his enemy. After this had been achieved Khudā Baksh Khān put Affonso in forceful confinement to secure similar ends. All efforts on the part of Affonso to effect his freedom failed. When the news reached Nuno de Gunha, the Governor of Goa, he sought the intercession of a wealthy Persian merchant adventurer of Ormuz, Khawaja Shahabuddin (Coge Sabedim). The later

\* It appeared that these local governors enjoyed semi independent powers and most of them acted on their own initiative.

secured the release of Affonso at a ransom of 3000 cruzados.\* Eventually Affonso repaired to Goa in 1529. It was not until 1533 that efforts were again resumed to restart the flow of Portuguese trade to the ports of Bengal.

Khawaja Shahabuddin had promised to use his influence with the king of Bengal to grant once more facilities for trade and commerce, even to give permission to build a fort and a factory in Chittagong.

*Second expedition of Affonso.*—Martim Affonso was sent a second time with five ships and two hundred men. After reaching Chittagong Affonso sent Duarte de Azevedo with 12 other men as his ambassador to the new king of Bengal, Mahmud Shah at Gaur with rich presents including horses brocades and sundry other articles valued at about £ 12000. Mahmud Shah was at that time in a sullen and irritable frame of mind, gnawed as he was by the remorse of having ascended the throne by the murder of his nephew Alauddin Firuz Shah. Furthermore, he was incensed at the fact that he discovered among the presents some boxes of rose-water which the Portuguese pirates had plundered off the coast of Bengal. As the Portuguese could not give a satisfactory explanation about their possession of the plundered goods, they were put under custody and some officers were sent to arrest Affonso and his men as well. In the meantime Affonso had a quarrel with some custom officers at Chittagong. This provided an additional excuse to the officers of the king of Bengal to seize the Portuguese. But the Portuguese offered resistance and in the skirmish that followed, 10 Portuguese were killed and a large number of them including Affonso were wounded while some of them managed to escape to their ships. Their effects valued at 100000 pound were confiscated, and about 30 of them were captured and were brought to Gaur, and lodged in the same room where Azavedos was also confined with his 12 men.

*Expedition of Antonio da Silva Menezes*—When the news of this incident reached Goa, the Governor da Cunha swore revenge. He prepared a fleet of 9 sails manned by 350 Portuguese under Antonio da Menezes with instructions to wage war "fire and blood" against the Sultan of Bengal. Upon reaching Chittagong Menezes demanded the return of all the captives within one month. But Mahmud Shah was not prepared to set them free unless some carpenters, jewellers and other workmen were sent to him from Goa in exchange.\* Before these nego-

\* Cruzados was a Portuguese coin equal to 9 s. or one rupee.

tations were over a month had elapsed, and Menezes thereupon set fire to a great part of Chittagong, captured and killed a great number of people. One would expect at these developments that the doom of Afonso and other Portuguese captives was not very far off, but some other new developments were taking place, and Bengal was soon to become a theatre of war owing to the struggle for the Indian Empire between the Mughal ruler Humayun and the Afghan Chief Sher Shah\*\* in which Afonso was destined to play an important part.

*Advent of Sher Shah*—Sher Shah, who had, after a chequered career of political wanderings and vicissitudes, established himself in the province of Bihar, was now harnessing his resources to make a bid for the empire of Hindustan against Humayun. This brought him into collision with Mahmud Shah of Bengal, whose strife and struggle with the rulers or the Governors of Bihar was almost a routine affair. He had already in May 1533 fought and defeated the forces of Sher Khan at Hajipur (in West Bengal) who had aided and abetted the Governor, Makhdum-i-Alam to rise in revolt against the king of Bengal. Again in March 1534 Mahmūd Shāh prepared a large force to wipe out the Afghan hegemony of Bihar. The Lohāni ruler of Bihar, Jalāl Khān Lohāni, had made an alliance with Mahmūd Shāh of Bengal against their common enemy Sher Shāh, but Sher Shāh defeated their combined armies near Surajgarh (which was situated on the frontier of Bengal. According to Qanungo " the defeat of Surajgarh sounded the death-knell of the independent Muslim monarchy of Bengal which dated from the middle of the 14th century; But for this victory. the *Jagirdar* of Sasaram would never have emerged from his obscurity into the arena of Hindustan politics to run a race for the empire with hereditary crowned heads like Bahadur Shah of Gujrat and Humāyūn Padshah."

Fortunately for Sher Shāh, Emperor Humāyūn was busy settling his affairs with Bahādur Shāh in the West, and therefore he set himself to the task of further displacing the ruler of Bengal. His object was to wrest by slow stages all the territories of Bengal as far as Teliagarhi from Mahmūd Shah. By the end of 1535 he had completed the conquest of the whole district of Munghir (which formed the western part of the kingdom of Bengal) and now he made preparations to march at the Capital Gaur itself. It was at this stage when the Afghan tiger was

\*Another account differs from this and relates that Mahmud Shah demanded £15000 as ransom, which being too exorbitant, Menezes decided upon bombarding Chittagong

ravaging the North-Western Frontiers of Bengal, the Portuguese hawks were scanning the horizon on the Bengal coast. Mahmūd could not have possibly faced two enemies simultaneously, therefore, he decided to befriend the Portuguese whose skill and experience in warfare could better be utilised against the Afghan intruders. He decided to give Affonso his freedom and thereafter to persuade him to reorganise his defences,

*Diogo Rebello*—By a strange coincidence another portuguese Captain Diogo Rebello, who had been sent by da Cunha to expedite the release of Affonso, happened to arrive at Satgaon with one vessel and two foists well armed with guns. Rebello tightened the blockade of the ports of Bengal and forbade all the ships to carry on any trade.\* He then sent words to the king in Gaur that if he did not liberate the Portuguese prisoners he would seize his ports and repeat in Satgaon what Menezes had done in Chittagong. This was the first time when a Portuguese captain is recorded to have sailed upto Gaur by the Hooghly, the others having gone to Gaur up the Meghna from Chittagong. As already stated Mahmūd Shah was no longer the same as Menezes had found him. He wrote to the Governor in Satgaon to receive Rebello well and to inform him that he was sending his ambassador to the Portuguese Governor in Goa as a proof of his friendship. He asked for Portuguese help and in return he promised to grant them land to erect their factories and permission to built fortresses in Chittagong and Satgaon. Mahmud Shāh sent back 22 Portuguese captives to Rebello and excused himself for not sending back Affonso because he needed his advice most of all. Affonso himself wrote a letter on behalf of the king assuring the Governor that the Portuguese would get permission to erect the factories and the fortresses.

**Sher Shah's first contact with the Portuguese—1536.**

Meanwhile Sher Shāh was advancing towards Gaur through the passes of Taligarhi and Sikligali. These passes were considered to be the gateway of Bengal and if the advance of Sher Shāh was to be halted, he was to be checked at these points. Martim Affonso despatched an army to check the Afghans on two Portuguese ships, one under Joao De Villaloba, and the other under Joao Gorrea. The Portuguese offered a stubborn resistance and prevented Sher Shāh from taking the city of Ferranduz,\* which

\* This illustrates the policy which the Portuguese had adopted in order to destroy the Arab commerce claiming for themselves alone, the right of trading in Indian seas.

\* According to Qanunqo, Sher Shah overcame the Portuguese allies of Mahmud Shah after a severe fight.

was 20 leagues from the city of Gaur. The Portuguese historians say that the Portuguese did wonders and captured a particular elephant which Mahmūd Shāh especially wanted; but Sher Shah managed to bypass the Portuguese fighters by another less protected way and entered Gaur with 10000 cavalry, 1500 elephants and 200000 infantry and with a fleet of 300 boats. \*\*

The Bengal army hastened from Teliagarhi to save the capital. But this sudden approach of Sher Shāh had greatly unnerved Mahmūd Shāh. He quailed before his task and made up his mind to buy off the enemy. He paid Sher Shāh an enormous indemnity amounting to 13 lacs of gold pieces and made peace with him. He also ceded to him territory from Kiul to Sikrīgali, some ninety miles in length with a breadth of 30 miles at various places. Martim Affonso, was however, against this policy of Mahmūd Shāh and the soundness of his advice was apparent when Sher Shāh soon after attacked him again, utilising the latter's money against him.

According to Quanungo "Mahmud Shah sowed the dragon's teeth for his own destructions, and out of every gold piece grew up an armed warrior to be arrayed against him by his enemy only a year after." Apart from the material gain of Sher Shah, the moral prestige gained by this achievement was of a great significance. He had now the crown of Bengal within his firm grasp, if not yet actually on his head. He assumed the title of Hadrat-i-Alā.

*First Portuguese settlement in Chittagong and Satgaon—1536-37.* Though Mahmūd Shāh had not emerged victorious in his fight with Sher Shāh, he did not fail to recognise the services of the Portuguese. He gave Affonso de Mello a present of 45000 *reis* and allotted to each of the Portuguese a daily sum of 10 rupees for food expenses. He did not, however, deem it prudent to allow the Portuguese to build fortresses at this

\*\* The local version of the number of elephant is 16000 which may be an error for 1600 elephants, while no mention is made therein about the fleet of boats.

\* It is stated by Portuguese historians that he hesitated at first to land in Chittagong as there was a great commotion against the Portuguese, arising from a report about the plundered city. But when a Portuguese named Antonio Menzez de Crasto arrived in Chittagong with Merchandise and a letter from the Portuguese Governor (explaining) the Cambay affairs, the agitation came to an end and de Brito then landed in Chittagong.

stage, but indeed permitted them to erect factories and custom houses at Chittagong and Satgaon. A Portuguese named Nuno Fernandez Freire was appointed as the chief of the custom house of Chittagong with powers to realise rent from the people, both Hindus and Muslims who lived there. He was also granted land, a number of houses and was given many other privileges over the people. Similar facilities and privileges were given to another Portuguese Joao Correa who was appointed the Chief of the Custom House at Satgaon. The people were all surprised to see that the king had given the Portuguese so much power and privileges, enabling them to gain a firm footing in Bengal. This was the first Portuguese establishment in Bengal, almost simultaneously established with those in Chittagong and Satgaon.

It was at this stage that another Portuguese Captain Alfonso de Brito arrived at Chittagong<sup>2</sup> with instructions from de Cunha to bring back Alfonso de Mello and a letter in reply to Mahmud Shāh's request about the help that the latter had asked for.

At Chittagong he met Fernandez Freire at the customs house who accompanied to the court of Gaur. The letter of the Portuguese Governor of Goa, de Cunha was delivered to Mahmūd Shah in which it was stated that he could not send any help because the wars in Cambay had made a demand on all his available men and that he would assuredly send it the following year. Mahmūd Shāh, highly grateful as he was to the Portuguese for the valuable assistance they had rendered in defending the passes, now permitted Alfonso de Mello to leave Bengal with his men. But he retained five Portuguese including Alfonso de Brito as hostages for the promised help.

### The Campaign of Sher Shah and Humayun, 1537-38.

After the departure of Alfonso de Mello news arrived in Gaur that Sher Shah was again advancing with a very powerful force in order to demand another sum of money, which, he declared was to be his annual tribute and was now due to him after the lapse of a year. Mahmud Shah, who had never agreed to such a pact refused to pay the tribute, and sent desperate messages to the Portuguese for help. But before this could arrive Sher Shah pounced upon Gaur, laid siege to it, burning and pillaging whatever came in his way and seizing as many as 60 million gold pieces. While the siege of Gaur was being carried, Sher Shah moved

further east, capturing and reducing the outlying districts as far as Chittagong.\*

In the meantime, Emperor Humayūn who was busy in his operations against Bahadur Shah of Gujrat, suddenly changed his mind and determined to deal with Sher Shah who had been gradually wresting territories from the monarchy of Bengal. He laid seige to the fortress of Chunār, the strong-hold of Sher Shah. The latter hastened back to Gaur from the eastern regions of Bengal and tightened the siege of Gaur. He wanted that before Maḥmūd Shāh may receive the promised help from the Portuguese he could complete the conquest of Bengal, so that he may be in a better and stronger position to deal with Humayun. After making arrangements for a more effective blockade of Gaur, he hurried to Chunar to reinforce its garrison. Meanwhile the army of Sher Shah succeeded in reducing the fort of Gaur and Mahmud Shah, having abandoned all hopes of Portuguese help, evacuated to Hajipur (April 1538) and thence to Muner, where Emperor Humāyūn had arrived after capturing Chunār ; and implored him to restore his kingdom from the hands of Sher Shāh. But he could not survive his misfortunes and with him ended the independent monarchy of Bengal. Soon afterwards Humāyūn occupied Gaur (July 1538) and Sher Shāh retired to Bihar and then began a campaign which shook the foundation of the Mughul Empire. Sher Shah cut off the retreat of Humayūn from Bengal, and utterly routed his forces at Chaunsah. The Emperor himself could save his life only by plunging into the Ganges from where he was rescued by a water carrier. Sher Shah now proclaimed himself king of Bengal in December, 1539 with the title of Sultan-ul-Adil Sher Shah and the following year he marched against Humayun and fought and won the historic battle Qanauje, the price of which was no less than the throne of Delhi (1540). Henceforward till 1576 the Portuguese had to deal with Sher Shah and his successors.

The help which Nuno da Cunha had promised Mahmud Shah at the release of Affonso de Mello did come indeed but it was too late for his rule was now substituted with that of Sher Shah's. This expedition was commanded by Vasco de Sampayo and consisted of 9 vessels. About this time a quarrel was going on between Khuda Buksh Khan and Amir

\* It appears that Sher Shah's strategy in making a swoop on to Chittagong, before the final reduction of Gaur, was to bring the Portuguese settlers in Chittagong under his control, so that they might not give any military help to the king of Bengal.

Khan the two officers of the late Mahmud Shāh, regarding the possession of Chittagong. Nuno Fernandez, the chief of custom house who wielded great influence in Chittagong supported the claims of Amir Khan, as Khuda Baksh Khān's attitude towards the Portuguese had never been too friendly. But Khidr Khan, the Governor of Sher Shāhs sent his own men to take possession of the port Thereupon Fernandez called upon the newly arrived Portuguese captain to attack the city and expelled the agents of Khidr Khan. Meanwhile the disappointed Amir Khān had Sher Shah's officers. The latter, however, could not fight two enemies simultaneously and therefore he tried to buy off the Portuguese by promising them their previous facilities and privileges. Fernandez who had by now grown very apprehensive about the position of the Portuguese collected a force to vindicate his claims and surrounded the house of settlements in Chittagong changed his mind and decided to support Khidr Khan's officers against Amir Khān's. He proceeded to the house of Khidr Khān's officers with 50 men whom Sampayo had sent from his contingent and tried to dissuade Amir Khan's men from seizing the unfortunate person. But he was himself prevailed upon by them and broke through the besieged house and seized the officers of Khidr and imprisoned them in one of the vessels of Sampayo. This unofficial and undeclared hostility between the portuguese settlers and the officers of Khidr Khān continued for some time in which the Portuguese suffered a great deal and most of their properties and stores were confiscated before Sher Shāh revisited Bengal in March 1541, to subdue the rebellion of Khidr Khān There is no record to show that Sher Shāh visited Chittagong during this campaign for he was soon called upon (January 1542) to look into the affairs of Western India. But during his brief stay in Bengal he reorganised the whole administration of Bengal, appointed Qadi Fadilat as *Amin-i-Bangala*, instead of *Hakim-i-Bengal* and partitioned the whole province into a number of smaller units, so that more effective control could be maintained over all the parts, and the ambitious Afghan Chiefs and the enterprising Portuguese captains could be kept under an effective check. It was during this time that the Portuguese were deprived of most of their ill-gotten gains and privileges and were restricted only to their commercial activities. It is maintained by the Portuguese historians that through the folly and the negligence of the last Portuguese captain, Vasco de Sampayo and the indiscretion of Fernandez, the king of Portugal lost Chittagong which could have been easily taken possession of, considering that Sher Shah was busily engaged in other parts of India. They



should have accepted the authority of Sher Shāh as they had done' in the case of Mahmud Shāh and this step would have enabled them to retain their position gained during the times of the latter. Any way, the sufferings of the captain of the first Portuguese expedition Martim Affonso de Mello had not been in vain and they continued to trade with the port of Chittagong although their ambitions of becoming a ruling power in the north-eastern India could never be fulfilled. No royal factory or fortress was erected and the Portuguese settlement in Satgaon and Chittagong and later on in Hooghly where goods were collected for shipment to Portugal were loosely considered to be subject to the Governors of Goa and later of Ceylon. They remained to the end mere adventures and merchants.

### **The first Portuguese settlement—Satgaon or Hooghly ?**

It is evident from the above discussion that the earliest of the Portuguese settlement were founded at Satgaon and Chittagong. But some writers have, however, asserted that it was the town of Hoogly where the Portuguese first established their settlement. But the fact was that Portuguese had established three settlements in the Hoogly district. each district in its origin, time and even place. The confusion about them has obviously arisen from them one being mixed up with the other. The first settlement was made in Satgaon, the second in Hoogly proper by Pedro Travares (Partial Bar Feringin of Akbarnama, Elliot VI, p. 59) to whom Akbar granted a farman in 1579 ; and the third settlement was established in Bande (in Hoogly district) under a farman from Shah Jahān granted him in 1633 a year for after the siege of Hoogly. This chronology may be verified from two accounts about the first Portuguese settlement in Satgaon and Chittagong. A Portuguese traveller, Fernao Castanheda gives a description of the settlement in Satgaon and Chittagong thus : “.....and the king after seeing himself free from war or some other reasons changed the wish which he had of giving fortresses to the king of Portugal in Chatigao (Chittagong) and Satigao (Satgaon) but not of giving the custom houses with houses of factories, and thus he told Martim Affonso who reminded that he promised fortresses ; and he seeing that the king would not assent to this did not like to dispute it and told him to given whatever he liked. And at this request he made Nuno Fernandez Freire the chief of the Custom House of Chittagong giving him a great circult house in which the Moors and the Hindus lived in order that it might bring him rent as also the custom house of Chittagong (might bring him rent) and give him many other powers at which all in the land were surprised, as also at the king being such a great friend

of the Portuguese whom he wanted to settle in the country. And the custom house of Satgaon which was smaller he gave to Joao Correa and soon he and Nuno Fernandez went to these two cities to perform their offices.....<sup>1</sup>”.

The other account is that of Abdul Hamid Lahori<sup>2</sup> author of *Polsih Namah* who also dates the first Portuguese settlement earlier than Akbar's<sup>3</sup> “under the rule of Bengalis (بنگالی) a party of Frank merchants<sup>4</sup> who are inhabitants of Sundip<sup>5</sup> came trading to Satgaon. One kos above that place they occupied some grounds on the bank of the estuary. Under the pretence that a building was necessary for their transaction in buying and selling, they erected several houses in the Bengal style. In course<sup>1</sup> of time through the ignorance<sup>2</sup> or<sup>3</sup> negligence of the rulers of Bengal these Europeans increased in numbers and erected large substantial buildings which they fortified with cannons, muskets and other implements of war. In due course a considerable place grew up which was known by the name of the port of Hoogly. On one side of it was the river and on the other three sides were ditches filled from the river. Europeans ships used to go up to the port, and a trade was established there. The markets of Satgaon declined and lost their prosperity. The villages and the district of Hoogly was on both sides of the river and these the Europeans got possessions of at a low rent.”

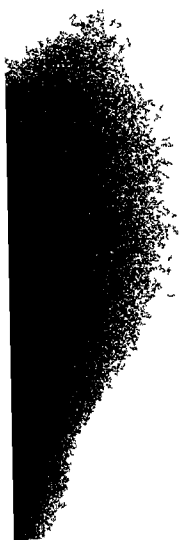
It is evident from this passage that the Portuguese had some sort of settlement in or a little above Satgaon before Akbar's conquest of Bengal in 1576, and that the settlement of Hoogly came into being some time later. The travellers who visited Bengal towards the close of the 16th century may not have found any trace of the settlement of Satgaon on account of two factors. Firstly because of the emergence of the port of Hoogly, as a great trading port, Satgaon as also Chittagong were relegated to secondary position, and secondly because since the establishment of the Afghan rule in Bengal the factory and the custom house of Portugues were confiscated, and the Portuguese gradually shifted on to a new place lower down the river Hoogly where they later secured the

<sup>1</sup> History of Portuguese in Bengal by J. J. A. Campor, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Elliot, History of India, Vol. VII, p. 31-32.

<sup>3</sup> Farangi (فرنگی) in Persian means European. Here this words is obviously used for Portuguese.

<sup>4</sup> An island at the mouth of Ganges in the district of Southal



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## NAWAB SAADAT ALI KHAN AND WELLESLEY'S INTERFERENCE IN AVADH

Nawab Saadat Ali Khan, the second son of Shuja-ud-Daulah, was the best educated and most intelligent of his numerous progeny. Realising his natural abilities Shuja-ud-Daulah intended to make Mirza Saadat Ali his successor<sup>1</sup> in preference to his eldest son Mirza Yahya Ali Khan, better known as Asaf-ud-Daulah. But as Bahu Begam, his principal wife, would not agree to her son's claims being overlooked Shuja-ud-Daulah did the next best thing. He gave the recently conquered (in 1774) territories of Rohilkhand and Doaba to Saadat Ali Khan, who established his headquarters at Bareilly<sup>2</sup> with an army strength of 24,000 soldiers.

On the death of Shuja-ud-Daulah, on 29th January, 1775, Asaf-ud-Daulah ascended the throne of Avadh and tried, with the assistance of the East India Company, to acquire Rohilkhand and Doaba also. At first they would not agree to dispossessing Saadat Ali Khan but later a profitable deal was struck between the Company and the Nawab-Vazir. Asaf-ud-Daulah made a gift out of "his free will and accord, unto the English Company<sup>3</sup>" of the sircars of Benares, Jaunpore, Ghazipore, and other Pergnahs, yielding an annual income of twenty-two<sup>4</sup> lakhs of rupees. Warren Hastings, in lieu of the "gift," persuaded Saadat Ali Khan to withdraw from Bareilly and promised him all help to regain the whole of Avadh on his brother's death<sup>5</sup>. Saadat Ali Khan retired, on an annual pension of four lakhs of rupees, first to Lucknow and then to Benares.

Asaf-ud-Daulah died on 21st September, 1797 but, contrary to all promises, the claims of Saadat Ali Khan were overlooked and Wazir Ali Khan was raised to the throne. Unexpectedly the young Nawab proved too headstrong and outspokenly anti-British to be ignored. Prudence compelled Sir John Shore, the Governor-General, to investigate the question of Wazir Ali Khan's parentage and he was declared a spurious child of Asaf-ud-Daulah. Saadat Ali Khan's claims were remembered and he was recognized as the next lawful heir to the musnud but with certain conditions.

<sup>1</sup> Muhammad Husain Azad : *Ab-e-Hayat*, p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> Najmul Ghani : *Tarikh-e-Avadh*, Vol. II, p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> C. U. Aitchison : *Treaties, Engagements, Sauads*, Vol. II, p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> Kamaluddin Hyder : *Qusar-ut-Tawarikh*, Vol. I, p. 95.

<sup>5</sup> Ghulam Ali : *Imad-us-Saadat*, p. 160.

On 21st January 1798 Saadat Ali Khan became the ruler of Avadh at the age of 45<sup>1</sup>, and the circumstances under which he came to the throne compelled him to put his signature on the dotted line. By the new Treaty he accepted "that the annual subsidy should be raised to 76 lacs of rupees, and that the fort of Allahabad should be made over to the English. It was also arranged that the regular amount of the English forces stationed in Oude should be 10,000 men, including all description; that, if at any time the amount should exceed 13,000 men, the expence of all the troops above that number should be defrayed by the Nabob, if it should fall below 8000 a proportional deduction should be made. The Nabob further agreed, to pay *twelve lacs of rupees to the English, as compensation money, for the expense of placing him on the musnud*; and not, without their consent, to hold communication with any foreign state, to employ no Europeans in his service or to permit any to settle in his dominions<sup>2</sup>." The Court of Directors naturally expressed, in their letter of 15th May, 1799, "satisfaction to find, that (exclusive of the immediate payment of twelve lacs of rupees by the Nabob Vizir), *his annual subsidy is increased upwards of twenty lacs of rupees*, besides the acquisition of a fortress in the Oude dominions. of the greatest consequence in the scale of general defence<sup>3</sup>."

From the same despatch we find that :

1, The court of Directors were satisfied by Teignmouth's Treaty which secured to the Company.

- (a) immediate payment of twelve lacs of rupees.
- (b) increment of twenty lacs in the annual subsidy;
- (c) acquisition of the fortress (of Allahabad) in the Oude dominions.
- (d) an ascendancy in Oude affairs.

2. The Directors were further convinced, on the authority of Sir John Shore, that Saadat Ali Khan's revenue would fall short of the estimated amount. They were, therefore, not surprised to find "that an arrear had accumulated in the payment of the Company's tribute, to the amount of upwards of eighteen lacs of rupees."

<sup>1</sup> Najmul Ghani : Tarikh-e-Avadh, vol. IV, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Mill's History of British India. vol. IV, p. 55.

<sup>3</sup> Mill's History of British India, vol. VI, pp. 174-5.

3. Lord Mornington (later Marquis Wellesley) himself asserted that the Nawab would liquidate the arrear and would introduce "such a system of order and economy into the management of his finances as will enable him to be more punctual in his future payments."

4. Most important of all the Governor-General in his despatch of the 17th April, 1798, declared "*that the most perfect tranquility continues to prevail in the Vizirs dominions.*"

So far all the three, the late Governor-General (Sir John Shore), the Earl of Mornington himself and the Court of Directors, have nothing to say against Saadat Ali Khan. The arrears, to the tune of eighteen lacs, were anticipated and Mornington himself assured the Directors that it would be paid up by the Nawab Vazir. He also testified to the fact that "*Most perfect tranquility prevailed in Avadh.*"

After all these commitment in writing we find a great change in the attitude of the great Pro-Consul. All of a sudden both Avadh and Saadat Ali Khan ceased to be what they were described in his Despatch of 17th April 1798. The affairs of Avadh assumed alarming proportions in his mind and every argument was found or invented to support his case for interference in the internal affairs of the country and annexing it, if possible.

On the 3rd October, 1798, he informed the Home authorities that he had "now under consideration the present state of affairs in Oude, and particularly the *best means of securing the regular payment of the subsidy, and of reforming the Nabob's Army.*"<sup>1</sup>

The reason is not far to seek. He had by then, evolved in his mind a system which would only make the Indian princes subservient to the British but would also bring money into the coffers of the Company and increase latter's dominions by fairly big slices of territory. In the words of keen student of British politics in India:

"Lord Mornington, afterwards Marquis of Wellesley, succeeded Sir John Shore, and arrived in India in 1798. The wars of Napoleon Bonaparte now influenced British policy in India as the wars of Frederick the Great had done in the previous generation. William Pitt was subsidising great powers of Europe to maintain armies against Napoleon. Wellesley

<sup>1</sup> Mill's History of British India, Vol VI, p. p. 175-6.

was a friend of Pitt and an apt pupil. He introduced the policy of subsidies in India, but with an important variation. It would be useless to pay subsidies to the Indian princes to maintain their inefficient armies; Wellesley, therefore, obtained subsidies from them to maintain contingents of the British army in their dominions. This at once brought money to the Company, and kept the Indian princes under British control; and this policy is known as the policy of subsidiary alliances.”<sup>1</sup>

In a letter to the Resident, dated the 23rd December, 1798, the noble Lord Writes: “There are, however, two or three leading considerations, in the State of Oude, to which I wish to direct your particular notice; intending, at an early period, to enter fully into the arrangement in which they must terminate whenever the death of Almas shall happen, an opportunity will offer of securiug the benefits of Lord Teignmouth’s Treaty, by provisions, which seen necessary for the purpose of realizing the subsidy, under all contingencies. *The Company ought to succeed to the power of Almas. And the management, if not the sovereignty. of that part of the Doab, which he now rents, ought to be placed in our hands,.....* The State of the Vizir’s troops is another most pressing evil..... My intention is to persuade his Excellency, at a proper season, to disband the whole of his own army, with the exception of such part of it as may be necessary for the purposes of sate, or of collection of revenue..... I propose to substitute an increased number of the Company’s regiments of infantry and cavalry, to be relieved from time to time, and to be paid by his Excellency. *I have already increased our establishment to the extent of Seventeen regiments of infantry, with the view of transferring three regiments to the service of his Excellency.*”<sup>2</sup> Two things are clear from these instructions to the Resident. That Wellesley had already decided to take possession of the<sup>3</sup>Doab, which was at the time managed by Almas Ali Khan whose “talents and activity” are admited by the noble Lord. But the reasoning is intriguing. If Almas is succeeded by a similarly telented and active person then the Company “should risk internal commotion,” otherwise “the frontier of Oude would be considerably weakened against the attacks either of the Abdali or of any other invader.” Therefore “the only remedy for these evils will be the possession of the Doab fixed in the hand of our government!! There can be hardly any other instance of such a brazen-faced hunger for *lebensraum*!”<sup>3</sup> Wellesley was so anxious to increase

<sup>1</sup> R. C. Dutt: Economic History of India, Vol. I, p. p. 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> Mill’s History of British India, Vol. VI, p.p. 176-7.

<sup>3</sup> Mill’s History of British India, Vol. VI, p. 193.

his army at the cost of others that he informs the Resident that he has already without any notice to or concurrence of the Nawab, increased his establishment "with the view of transferring three regiments to the service of His Excellency." It was left to the Resident to persuade the Nawab as best as he could. The real intentions of the Governor-General were concealed under the apprehended invasion of India by Zaman Shah. It served a convenient mask to execute the imperialist policies of the Company. The Nawab was also persuaded and pressed to accept military reforms. "This was what the Governor-General, with other Englishmen, Called a reform" writes Mill "of the military establishments of the Vizir: the total annihilation of his military power, and the resignation of himself and his country to the army of another State." Mr. Lumsden, the great Arabic Scholar, was the Resident at the time. Wellesley, considering him unequal to the political game ahead, directed the Adjutant-General, Lt. Col. Scott to proceed to Lucknow. Lumsden resigned and Col. Scott became the Resident. After studying the situation at Lucknow for some months he, in his letter of 20th September, 1799, writes "I am led to conclude that whilst he (the Nawab) is determined to fulfil, with minute regularity<sup>1</sup> the peculiar engagements with the company, his views are directed to the enjoyment of a full authority over his household affairs-, hereditary dominions. and subjects. according to the most strict interpretation of the clause of the seventeenth article of the treaty executed at Lucknow--I have no conception that he aspires, either now or in prospect. to political independence. What he aims at is the independent management of the interior concerns of his dominions, to the exclusion of all interference and inspection on the part of the English government, and to the gradual diminution of its influence over the internal administration of the country."

Saadat Ali Khan knew that he was surrounded by British spies. in the person of his own ministers thrust on him or his predecessors by the Resident, so he conducted business personally or through his trusted persons. Thus he stopped the secrets of the State leaking out to the Resident. Annoyed at this the Governor-General writes to the Resident, on 26th September 1799, "*The present condition of his Government appears to preclude you from the information necessary to your first steps in the proposed reforms*"<sup>2</sup> and directed the Resident "to insist, that the Vizir shall place his government in such a state as shall afford you the requisite

<sup>1</sup> Mill's History of British India, Vol. VI, p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid of Ibid Vol. VI. p. 199.



*means of information*, as well as of carrying the intended regulations into complete and speedy effect.”<sup>1</sup>

On 5th November, 1799, Wellesley addressed a letter to the Vizir “for the annihilation reform of his military establishment.”<sup>2</sup> In the mean time the Resident informed the Governor-General that the Vizir, had desired to abdicate in favour of one of his sons. The Governor-General was eager only for “the acquisition by the Company of the exclusive authority, civil and military, over the dominions of Oude.” But he did not look with favour on “the formal abdication of the sovereignty by the Vizir” because it would “by necessarily raising a question with regard to the succession, would involve us in some embarrassment.”<sup>3</sup> At the same time Wellesley was too eager to let this opportunity slip and “the draught of a treaty was speedily prepared, and sent to the Resident, accompanied by notes for a memorial explanatory of the several articles.”<sup>4</sup>

The proposal of abdication, supposed to be conveyed by the Nawab-Vazir to the Resident was put before him in the shape of a draft treaty<sup>5</sup> on 15th December 1799. On the 19th December the Vazir informed “that the proposition offered by your Lordship was so repugnant to his feelings ; departed so widely, in a most essential point, from the principle on which he wished to relinquish the government; and would, were he to accept it, bring upon him such indelible disgrace and odium, that he could never voluntarily subscribe to it.”<sup>6</sup> Finding that the Nawab-Vazir would not swallow the bait the former Adjutant-General of the Company’s forces who was the present Resident, reminded the Vazir of the military reforms. To which “His Excellency (the Vazir) observed, *that the reform of his military establishment upon the principles proposed by your Lordship, would annihilate his authority in his own dominions.*”<sup>7</sup>

Wellesley found to his great chargin that he was not opposed by a slothful or imbecile Indian potentate but he was matched by a man of keen intelligence who knew his business well. Saadat Ali Khan had refuted his specious arguments on which the intended treaty was based by

<sup>1</sup>     ,,       of       ,,       Vol. VI. p. 200.

<sup>2</sup>     ,,       of       ,,       Vol. VI. p. 200.

<sup>3</sup>     ,,       of       ,,       Vol. VI. p. 206.

<sup>4</sup>     ,,       of       ,,       Vol. VI. p. 207.

<sup>5</sup> Mill’s History of British India, Vol, VI, p. 208.

<sup>6</sup>     Ibid               Ibid     Vol, VI, p. 211.

<sup>7</sup>     ,,                 ,,       Vol. VI. p. 212.

cogent reasoning; while he had seen through the so called military reforms and exposed them. So Wellesley lost patience and giving up all pretence to diplomacy, in which he had been defeated, he resorted to brute force, pure and simple. "The Resident, was directed immediately," writes the Governor-General to the Home authorities on 31st August, 1800 "either from himself, or in concert with the Commanding officer at Cawnpore, as the nature of the case might appear to him to require, to *direct the several corps to move to such points of his Excellency's dominions, as might appear most advisable*; giving due notice to his Excellency of the entrance of the augmentation of the troops into his territories, and calling upon his Excellency to adopt the requisite measures for the regular payment of the additional force."<sup>1</sup> Of this the Vazir was informed on the 4th of January, 1800. On the 11th January, the Vazir communicated the draught of a letter to the Resident which was despatched to the Governor-General on the 18th of the same month. This is important and I should be excused in quoting it *in extenso*. After describing the dangers which had threatened his late brother (Asaf-ud-Dowlah), he says "Notwithstanding these circumstances, it never once entered the imagination of the British rulers to introduce such innovations, and carry into effect such arrangements, as these now suggested by your Lordship. Should the Company no longer putting confidence in the sincerity of my friendship, deprive me of the direction of my own army, and spread their troops over my dominions, *my authority in the provinces would be annihilated; nor would my orders be attended to on any occasion, whether trifling or momentous.....*

"By a reference to the second article of the treaty, it will be evident to your Lordship, that *on my accession to the musnud, the force designed for the defence of these dominions was increased beyond what it had been in any former period; whilst on my part I agreed to defray the expense of the said augmentation. But in no part of the said article is it written or hinted, that, after the lapse of a certain number of years, a further permanent augmentation should take place. And to deviate in any degree from the said treaty appears to be unnecessary,—From an inspection of the 7th article, we learn, that, after the conclusion of the treaty in question, no further augmentation is to be made, excepting in cases of necessity; and that the increase is to be proportioned to the emergency, and endure but as long as the necessity exists. An augmentation of the troops, without existing necessity, and making me answerable for the expense attending the*

<sup>1</sup> Mill's History of British India, Vol. VI, p. 214.

*increase, is inconsistent, with treaty; and seems inexpedient.* Towards the latter end of the 17th article, it is stipulated, that all transactions between the two states shall be carried on with the greatest cordiality and harmony, and that the *Nawab shall possess full authority over his household affairs hereditary dominions, his troops, and his subjects.* Should the management of the army be taken from under my direction, I ask where is my authority over my household affairs, hereditary dominions, over my troops, and over my subjects?"<sup>1</sup>

Unable to answer the Nawab Vazir's arguments Wellesly made it "a pretext for treating it as an insult" and directed the Resident to inform his Excellency that "The mode adopted in the present instance by his Excellency of replying to a public letter from the Governor-General, attested by his Lordship's seal and signature and written on a subject of the most momentary concern to the mutual interests of the Company and of his Excellency, besides indicating a levity totally unsuitable to the occasion, is highly deficient in the respect due from his Excellency to the first British authority in India.—His Lordship, therefore, declines making any remarks on the paper which you have transmitted, and desires that the Nabob Vizir may be called on to reply to his Lordships letter of the 5th November, in the manner prescribed no less by reason than by established usage; if, in formally answering his Lordship's letter, his Excellency should think proper to impeach the honour and justice of the British government, in similar terms to those employed in the paper delivered to you on the 11th instant, the Governor-General will then consider, how such unfounded calumnies, and gross misrepresentations both of facts and arguments, deserve to be noticed." No better remarks can be offered on the above attitude adopted by Wellesly than those of Mill's: "The course of procedure is worthy of notice. A party to a treaty fulfils all its conditions with a punctuality, which, in his place, was altogether unexampled: a gross infringement of that treaty, or at least what appears to him a gross infringement, is about to be committed on the other side: he points out clearly, but in the most humble language savouring of abjectness, much more than disrespect, the inconsistency which appears to him to exist between the treaty and the conduct: this is represented by the other party as an impeachment of their honour and justice; and if no guilt existed before to form a ground for punishing the party who declines compliance with their will, a guilt is now

<sup>1</sup> Mill's History of British India, Vol. VI, pp. 217—8.

contracted which hardly any punishment can expiate. This, it is evident, is a course, by which no infringement of a treaty can ever be destitute of a justification. If the party injured submits without a word; his consent is alleged. If he complains; he is treated as impeaching the honour and justice of his superior; a crime of so prodigious a magnitude as to set the superior above all obligation to such a worthless connexion."<sup>1</sup> These protracted proceedings ended when several battalions of additional troops entered Awadh and the harassed Nawab-Vazir yielded to the demands of Wellesley because he was too weak to resist.

In November, 1800 "demand for a second body of new troops was presented to the Vizir"<sup>2</sup> The Nawab again protested: "Formerly, in the plan proposed for the reform of the military, it was written, 'That the resources for the expense of the new troops would be found in the reduction of those of his Excellency.' Although the resources for the payment of the new British troops were not found in the reduction of those of the Sircar; now that you write, to have the charges of other new troops added to the debit of the State, when the reduction of the military has not yet supplied resources for the payment of the charges of the former new troops, how can I take upon myself to defray the charges of these new troops, without subjecting the Sircar to the imputation of a breach of faith."<sup>3</sup>

Saadat Ali Khan had so far punctually made all the payments to the Company and he did not wish to commit himself to more than what he could discharge regularly. But Wellesley had decided that nothing could save the province of Avadh unless "the exclusive management of the civil and military government of that country shall be transferred to the Company."<sup>4</sup> To ensure regular payment of the subsidy the Nawab-Vazir was asked "to make a cession to the company, in perpetual sovereignty, of such a portion of his territories, as shall be fully adequate, in their present impoverished condition, to defray these indispensable expenses".<sup>5</sup> Wellesley was determined to carve out the better portions of the territories from the dominions of the Nawab-Vazir and he pursued his object with more relentless obstinacy than ingenuity.

<sup>1</sup> Mill's History of British India, Vol. VI, pp. 220—21.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid Ibid Vol. VI, p. 226.

<sup>3</sup> Mill History of British India, Vol. VI, p. 227

<sup>4</sup> Ibid Ibid , Vol. VI, p. 229

<sup>5</sup> „ „ , Vol. VI, p. 230

“The subsidy which, according to the treaty of Lord Teignmouth, was already paid by the Vizir, amounted to Rs. 7600,000: the annual expense of the additional force with which he was to be loaded, was 54,12,929: the whole would amount to 1,30,12,929 rupees. The Nawab was to make a cession of territory in perpetual sovereignty to the English, the revenue which, even in its present unproductive state, and without any regard to the improvements of which it might be susceptible, should amount to such a sum, over and above the whole expense of collection. The revenue remaining to the Vizir after such a deduction would have been 1,00,00,000. The territory, then, of which he was to be deprived,” says Mill, “amounted to more than one half, to not much less than two thirds, of his whole dominions.”<sup>1</sup>

But as the Vazir would not easily yield and Wellesley “wished to avoid the appearance of force in seizing the greater part of the vizir’s dominions”<sup>2</sup> so the Governor General sent his brother Henry Wellesley to ‘persuade’ the Nawab Vazir. He arrived at Lucknow on the 3rd September, 1801 and saw the Vazir on the 6th. The latter was again asked either to abdicate or to cede the desired territories to the Company. On the 28th April the Resident had already been directed “to insist upon the immediate cession of the territory proposed to be transferred to the Company; and that in the event of his Excellency’s refusal to issue the necessary orders for that purpose, you are authorized to direct the British troops to march for the purpose of establishing the authority of the British Government within those districts.”<sup>3</sup>

At long last Saadat Ali Khan had to sign a treaty on the 10th November, 1801, ratified by the Governor-General on the 14th instant at Benares, by which territories yielding an annual revenue of Rs. 1,35,23,474 were ceded to the Company. They included Allahabad, the Doab, Rohilkhand, Azamgarh, Gorukhpoor, etc. It will be noticed that they included the districts which were farmed by Almas Ali Khan and which Wellesley wanted to possess as early as 23rd December, 1799. These were called the “Ceded Districts” and were converted into a province called the North-Western province. On a reference to the map of India it will be found that the remaining territories of Avadh were now surrounded on three sides by the Company. On the eastern side only its frontier marched

<sup>1</sup> „ „, Vol. VI. p. 231

<sup>2</sup> Mill History of British India, Vol. VI. p. 239

<sup>3</sup> Ibid Ibid, Vol. VI. p. 236





demand by two million Rupees, or two hundred thousand pounds, and another million Rupees was added before the third year was out. And while the Nawab's demand was only nominal—*Collections being made according to the State of the crops—the Company's demand was realised with a rigidity which the people of India had never known before*. One Collector, Mr Dumbleton, complained that the settlement of 1802 "pressed beyond a reasonable demand", and that the British Government continued the heavy rates of the Nawab's Government "*without the same elasticity in realising*"

After all "Wellesley was regarded as a very expensive and ambitious ruler, the greater part of his administration had been a scene of war and conquest"<sup>1</sup> And at long last "the alarmed Directors of the Company recalled their too warlike Governor General, and once more sent out Lord Cornwallis to restore peace to India"

Saadat Ali Khan, left with one half of his extensive dominions, turned his attention to its management and although pestered with the daily interference of the Resident, turned his attention to evolve some order out of the economic chaos in which the country had been left, by his late brother Asafud Dowlah. He did succeed to a great extent. Hitherto the chronic complaint against the Nawabs of Avadh was the non payment of the British troops expenses to the Company. Saadat Ali Khan was the first and perhaps the last ruler of Avadh who cleared the accounts on the due date every year. In a letter written in March (1801) to the Governor General, during the prolonged negotiations leading to the treaty of 1801, the Nawab asserts "no failure or deficiency whatever was experienced in the discharge of the expenses of the new troops, and in the payment of the *kists* of the fixed subsidy. On the contrary, these expenses and *kists* of the fixed subsidy, and the charges of the additional troops, have been completely paid to the end of January, 1801, and Col Scott has expressed his acknowledgement on the occasion"<sup>2</sup> The Company could not accuse this Nawab of a multitudinous throng of unserviceable attendants, bands of dancing girls, flocks of parasites, costly feasts and ceremonies," and that "folly and pomp and profligacy of every conceivable description, drained the coffers of the State."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Mill History of British India Vol VI, p 639

<sup>2</sup> Mill History of British India, Vol VI, p 222

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Kaye History of the Sepoy War, Vol I p 114



With improved finances he could pull his weight in proper quarters. One of his friends in England informed him that the Earl of Moira, a close friend of king George III, was tipped for the next Governor-Generalship. But he was heavily in debt and if he (the Nawab) could help him (Moira) it would be a good investment. Saadat Ali Khan sent six lakhs of rupees and wiped off the noble lord's debts.<sup>1</sup> The first thing that Moira did, on landing at Madras as the Governor-General, was to send a letter to the Nawab-Wazeer through the Resident. This was the most unusual thing and Baillie (Resident) feared that the Nawab through the Governor-General would have the whip-hand and he would have to atone for his past misdeeds. A diabolical plot was hatched and the Nawab was poisoned to death<sup>2</sup> on 11th July, 1814.

“ If there was,” writes Kaye “at any time, hope for Oude, under purely native administration, it was during the wazeership of Saadat Ali, for he was not a bad man, and he appears to have had rather enlightened views with respect to some important administrative questions.”<sup>3</sup> Sir Henry Lawrence with refreshing frankness admits that Saadat Ali Khan *was ‘in advance of the Bengal Government of the day on revenue arrangements’* and gives two striking instances of the fact. With characteristic candour and impartiality, Lawrence adds that *Saadat Ali’s mal-administration was ‘mainly attributable to English interference,* to the resentment he felt for his own wrongs, and the bitterness of soul with which he must have received all advice from his oppressors, no less than to the impunity with which they enable him to play the tyrant”<sup>4</sup>.

Being a scholar himself he was a great patron of learned men. The famous poet *Insha* was his Court poet but Mir Taqi Mir, Mirza Qateel and others also received patronage from him. The country was gradually recovering under his wise administration when his life was cut short by poison. Had he succeeded his father, 23 years earlier (in 1775 instead of 1798) as was the wish of Shujaud-Dowlah, or Warren Hastings had not compelled him to give up Rohilkhand and the Doaba to the profligate Asafud-Dowlah. Avadh would have become, under him, one of the strongest powers in the country. But this was against the interests of the East India Company and the main strategy of its servants was to encourage

<sup>1</sup> Kamal-ud-din Hyder : Qaisar-ut-Tawarikh, Vol. I, p. 198

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. Ibid. . Vol. I, p. 199

<sup>3</sup> Sir John Kaye- History of the Sepoy War, Vol. I, p. 118

<sup>4</sup> „ „ Vol. I, p. 118 f. n.

wastrels, sensuous imbeciles and besotten drunkards on the thrones of India. Intelligent and promising princes in a ruling family were always at discount. Avadh suffered not only from this principle of the John O'Company but also from its geographical position. Wellesley knew the importance of Avadh for the Company's possessions. "The condition of Oude soon attracted his attention; *not because its government was bad and its people were wretched, but because that country might either be a bulwark of safety to our dominions, or a sea of danger which might overflow and destroy us.*"<sup>1</sup> So Saadat Ali Khan found himself seized by the strong tentacles of the Great Octopus, the East Indian Company, not for any fault of his but due to the expansionist policy of the Company. The misery of the people or the wretchedness of the country were mere arguments trotted out to hoodwink the world. They were masks put on to conceal the true intentions and were used with telling effect. When the specious arguments of Wellesley failed against more cogent reasoning based on facts, of Saadat Ali Khan, the great pro-Consul pretended injured innocence and Henry Wellesley with a formidable army of British troops at his call, dragooned the Wazeer into sullen submission to the will of the English Sultan."<sup>2</sup>

Some Muslim historians<sup>3</sup> accuse Saadat Ali Khan for his weakness. They contend that had Saadat Ali Khan or the other Avadh rulers been strong enough they would have fared better. But they forget that neither the military strength of Tipu Sultan nor of Sindhia or Gaekwar or Holkar could help any one of them against the superior political acumen of the British. The disunity and the utter lack of any political sense in the Indian ruling classes of the eighteenth century led them to their pre-destined doom of subjugation.

Not finding any other fault in Saadat Ali Khan there are some, mostly English writers, who accuse the Nawab of stinginess and inordinate passion for amassing wealth. His attempts at thrift and at weeding out corruption, have been painted in the darkest hue. But in justice to him it must be admitted that, in the words of Sir William Sleeman, "he laboured assiduously to reduce his expenditure within the income arising from the reserved half of his expenditure within the income arising from the reserved half of his dominions.....(He)

<sup>1</sup> Sir John Raye: History of the Sepoy War, Vol. I, p. 115

<sup>2</sup> Ibid Vol. I p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> Najmul Ghani and others.

paid off and discharged all superfluous civil and military establishments ; and, by his prudence and economy, he so reduced his expenditure within the income, that on his death on the 12th of July, 1814, he left fourteen millions sterling or crores of rupees, in a treasury which he found empty when he entered upon the Government in 1797 (!). He never confiscated the estates of any good and faithful servants, who left lawful heirs to their property.....Saadat Ali Khan was a man of great general ability, had mixed much in the society of British officers in different parts of India, had been well trained to habits of business, understood thoroughly the character, institutions, and requirements of his people. and, above all, was a sound judge of the relative merits and capacities of the men from whom he had to select his officers, and a vigilant supervisor of their actions. This discernment and discrimination of character, and vigilant supervision, served him through life, and the men who served him ably and honestly always felt confident in his protection and support. He had a thorough knowledge of the rights and duties of his officers and subjects, and a strong will to secure the one and enforce the other.”<sup>1</sup>

Saadat Ali Khan was the best suited ruler to improve the condition of his state. He could not succeed because the English would not let him do it. Wellesley and his successor continued to interfere, through the Resident, in the internal administration of the country. But there is one thing that stands out prominently in his unequal contest between Wellesley and Saadat Ali Khan. The Nawab-Vazir was more than a match, in dialectical skill, for the friend of Pitt and his “apt pupil”. All the pretensions of humanity, solicitude for the people and charges of misrule and misgovernment in Avadh were badly exposed. So much so that honest and impartial Britishers have to admit “The impatient desire to extinguish the military power of the Vizir exhibits the sort of relation in which the English government in India wishes to stand with its allies. *It exhibits also the basis of hypocrisy, on which that government has so much endeavoured to build itself. The Nawab was stripped of his dominions ; yet things were placed in such a form that it might still be affirmed he possessed them.*”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir W. H. Sleeman : Journey through the kingdom of Oude, Vol. II, pp. 189-90.

<sup>2</sup> Mill : History of British India, Vol, VI, p. 246-7.

## ARCHITECTURAL EVOLUTION IN EAST PAKISTAN

" Within the geographical bounds of East Pakistan the problem of tracing the gradual evolution of architecture in different phases of its chequered and often highly disputed history, confronts any systematic study on that subject seriously impeded with uncertainty—mostly due to obliteration of architectural remains of the past by the destructive agencies of nature and man. Character of the soil and her distinctive moist climate, which this part of the country exhibit are mainly responsible for such relatively scanty structural remains which we find around us to-day. Both of those two factors encourage a rapid luxurious growth of wild vegetations, and consequently once a building ceases to be taken care of, creeping shrubs and other plants soon enshroud the whole body completely to raze it to the ground and ere long it is reduced to an unrecognisable shapeless mound. Besides, the binding materials employed in the construction of brick-built structures, being invariably in mud it has proved least successful in withstanding the test of time.

The country being deltaic in character, a rich deposit of alluvium is left annually by the flood water which recedes and makes clay readily available for the manufacture of brick. So most of the old structures in the past are observed to be composed of this material. In addition, the country sustains an abundant supply of timber and bamboo, the pliant nature of which has enormously influenced the style of architecture in East Bengal by imparting some characteristic curvatures to it.

The history of architecture of East Bengal may conveniently be divided into two well defined epochs, as a consequence of the Muslim conquest, which took place as early as the end of the 12th century A.D. As a result of two art currents, flowing from different directions, the first of these epochs i.e. the pre-Islamic architecture, manifests two distinctive phases of development. One of these was that formed by the extreme limit of Orissan style which progressed northward and the other stamped with the evidence of a Gupta-Buddhist-Hindu Stream percolating in Bengal from the west. The former was brought into being by the active patronage of the Pala Dynasty, who ruled supreme over a large territory in Bengal from the 8th to 11th century. It was during the paramontcy of these rulers that the art and architecture attained conspicuous height of prosperity, while their successors the Senas in the 12th century only maintained this standard in a more ornate manner.

The vital creative impulse which inspired the architects in ancient Bengal, though of course influenced profoundly by the art currents of different styles, was invariably stamped with the indigenous distinctiveness characteristic of Bengal.

Innumerable images so far brought to light are in themselves sufficient evidence that in ancient Bengal there were temples for their proper enshrinement. Inscriptions ranging in date even as early as the Gupta Period, testify to the setting up of temples dedicated to various deities either by private individuals or the sovereign himself. Glimpses into the written records of Hiuen Tsang's travel in Bengal in the 7th century A.D. reveals the existence of more than 300 temples. Next follows a period of confusion and turmoil for approximately a century. But under the settled administration of the Palas for nearly four centuries, the building art of Bengal received a fresh impetus and consequently artistic productiveness grew enormously. The ancient temples in Bengal are often figuratively described "as high as mountain peak" or "as obstructing the very course of the sun with its lofty and imposing towers capped by golden Kalasas (Pinnacle)". But no such example of an ancient temple with its tall and slender spire (*Sikhara*) intact has come down to us. However, from various sculptural suggestions it is not difficult to reconstruct the lost types of pre-Islamic temple-architecture in Bengal.

### JAINA AND BUDDHIST STRUCTURES.

The vestiges of Jaina establishment in East Bengal are far less in number than Buddhism which enjoyed a longer period of prosperity in this region. However an inscription of the 5th century records the existence of an important Jaina Monastery at Vatagohali (identified with Goalbhita) near Paharpur in Rajshahi district; while the records of the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsang, offer us information about a number of establishments of the Digambara Nirgranthas "in the countries of Pundra Vardhana and Samatata". Unfortunately none of these have so far been traced. However, some dedactic Jaina images of 9th-11th centuries have been un-earthed in East Pakistan. Mr. T. N. Ramchandran has expressed his opinion that a systematic excavation on the mounds of Mainamati, five miles west of Comilla may reveal Jaina vestiges.

On the other hand, Buddhism, patronised as elsewhere by the important ruling dynasties like the Khadgas (7th-8th centuries) and the Chandras

(8th-12th centuries), succeeded in establishing well organised monasteries in different parts of East Bengal. A vivid account of Pandita Vihara at Chatigrama (Chittagong) is preserved in Tibetan tradition, while other manasteries known from literary sources have definitely been identified, such as Somapuri Vihara (Paharpur in Rajshahi district), Vikrampur Vihara (Rampal ruins in Dacca), Agrapur Vihara (at Agradigun in Dinajpur district), Jagaddala Vihara (at Jaggadala in Dinajpur district), Kanaka-Stupa Vihara at Pattikeraka (on Mainamati Hills in Comilla district) and Po—Shih—Po - Vihara (Bhasuvihara near Mahasthangarh in Bogra district). The remains of the Buddhist monstaries have also been traced at Bharat Bhayana in Jessore district, Sabhar in Dacca district, at Bihrail, Kumarpur, Deepganj and Dhanora in Rajshahi district and at some of the mounds on the Lalmai Range in Comilla district.

The earliest example discovered so far is the remains of a temple in Baigram in Dinajpur district which is generally indentified with the Govinda Svami temple of Shiva—Shivanandin, mentioned in the copper plate inscription dated 128 Gupta Era (447-48 A. D.)—The temple originally consisted of a square sanctum, surrounded by a circumambulatory passage, enclosed by a wall with an open terrace made of rammed earth and miscellaneous infilling on all 4 sides adjoining that enclosure wall.

Exacation in and around the walled town of Mahasthen—the earliest known capital of Bengal, has yielded 'several' 'extremely' mutilated structures, closer study of which has revealed in them the remains of a few temples. Two such examples respectively occupying the eastern and western half of a temple—complex lie at Govindabhita. The eastern one resembles the Baigram temple in layout. It consists of a square shrine enclosed by a well and a verandah on all sides with a *vedi* in the centre of the shrine—obviously the seat of the deity. The basement wall when exposed revealed an earlier verandah of irregular width, adorned with terracota plaques, set in grooved face on the west. The western temple which resembles an earlier structure, not clearly traced, consists of solid platform in the centre enclosed by three terraces, one below the other. These terraces are supported on superficial cells, which are evidently foundations of superstructures. The second terrace wall was found to be decorated with three sunk panels in a horizontal row, placed at equal intervals. The data assigned to the former temple by scholars is 6th—7th century A. D. while the later to 8th—9th century A. D.

Remains of similar but more elaborate temple have also been brought to light at the isolated mound called Lukhindarar Medh, about a mile to the south of the ruins of Mahasthangarh. The temple consists of a shrine whose plinth is polygonal in plan and rests on a square shaft. The shrine is enclosed by 5 terraces, one below the other the later being supported on brickbuilt chambers made solid by filling their interior with hard beaten earth. These chambers range themselves in parallel rows. The mound looks like a honey-comb, on account of the chambers dug out at different levels. The remains at Gokul Medh, close to Lakhundarar Medh, provides another example of a temple which resembles to a great extent, just described. It is enclosed on all sides, at a distance of 15 feet by four massive walls forming a sort of quadrangle, the space intervening between these walls and the shrine is made compact by erecting cross walls and by filling up the well-like enclosures thus formed, with earth. When this whole quadrangle was made solid, similar quadrangles were added into its four sides and the interiors were also treated in the same way. These quadrangles served the same purpose of providing a solid foundation for the lofty shrine just as the terraces did in the above examples. From the different levels of the successive quadrangles, Mr. S. K. Sarasvati concludes that "the whole structure rose in graded terraces until the shrine at the top was reached. "While Mr. N. G. Majumdar observed, that the way in which so many buttress walls were erected side by side, to support a central superstructure, is a distinctive feature in the history of architecture in Eastern India.

But of all these remains the Great Somapuri Vihara un-earthed at Paharpur in Rajshahi district, founded by one of the early Pala Rulers, Dharma Pala (770 to 810 A. D.), expresses fully the conspicuous existing architectural features of Bengal. It is the biggest single Vihara (measuring 922 feet North to South and 919 feet East to West externally) so far known in this Sub-continent, but the general forms and features manifest little difference from those of similar establishments in famous aites elsewhere. The Monastery is quadrangular in plan, having high enclosure walls all round and is distinguished by "its cruciform sharpe with angles of projection between the arms", its three raised terrances and complicated scheme of decoration of walls with carved brick cornices, *friezes* of terracota plaques and stone reliefs." The Central Unit consists of a terraced structure having a doorless square built chamber, whose interior was filled in with earth and debris, and shoots high above its centre. On each of its faces is added a rectangular projection consisting of an

anti-chamber and a Mandap, with a margin and space left vacant at both the corners of the faces. The recondular projections being equal in length, the resulting shape is square cross with one projecting angle between the arms of the cross. Paralled to the out line of this plan, on the second terrace, runs the circumambulatory passaga with a passage wall. On the first terrace is further added a similar rectangular projection on each side, thus variegating the plan until more. The basement conforms to the alignment of the first terrace-structure with the result that the angular projection in both are three each between the arms of the cross. The basement wall was decorated with 63 stone reliefs and above this line runs a single row of terracota plaques. The plainness of the walls in the first and second terraces is relieved on the outer face by bands of terracota plaques, set in recessed panels. The stone reliefs exhibit three different trends of style and depict various themes connected with the life of Kirshna; popular stories of *Ramayan* and *Mahabharata* and various incidents from the daily life of village humble folks. The terracota plaques preserve the folk arts of Bengal in its various aspects

The temple exhumed at Paharpur is singularly important in the history of Indo Colonial art and architecture. It influenced profoundly that of farther India, specially Burma, Java, and Cambodia, which is evidenced from the instances of the Anando, the Sulaimani, the Thitswads, etc., in Burma which are exact copies of the Paharpur temple.

The stupa is a necessary adjunct to a monastery, owing to its symbolically representing Buddha's Nirvana. The stupas that have so far been discovered in East Pakistan are votive in character. A number of stupas have been un-earthed at Paharpur, while a still larger number at the site of Satyapirbhita, about 300 yards east of the Somapuri Vihara. They present a wider variety of square, rectangular and circular votive shrines of various sizes and schemes of ornamentations. The majority have a cruciform plan, obtained by one, two or even three offset projection on each face of the square. A still variegated shape is the 16 side star, resting on circular base in the court-yard of the monastery area. The basements are high and are sometimes decorated with rows of Buddha's figures. They also exhibit successive diminishing tiers of elaborate mouldings, including the "Torus" and the "Dentil". All these stupas have only their basements preserved now. However, an idea of their possible complete form can be obtained from the various miniature clay stupas found intact enshrined in the relic chamber of some of the stupas at Satyapirbhita



These exhibit the traditional form of the stupa with a board moulding at the base, cylindrical drum, a square *hit* and a pointed finial. The entire form of stupa can also be observed in bronze specimens recovered from Ashrafpur in Dacca district, Paharpur in Rajshahi district and Jhewari in Chittagong district. In these examples the base is square with one offset projection on each face, while the cylindrical drum ends in an hemispherical dome. Finally, there is a stone stupa at Yogigopha in Dinajpur district, showing a further elaboration of this type, in which along with the multiplication of the differences there is also a corresponding elevation of each component part, and here, even without the basement that is lost, we find that the drum and the dome each, represents a high cylinder, their total height being more than three times the diameter at the bottom. The drum, as usual, is surmounted by the *harmika*, not square but circular and ribbed on edge like the *amalaka-sila* of a temple. This is a peculiarity which is noticed for the first time in the case of a stupa monument. Next we have the range of *Chatra* disc, gradually diminishing in size as they go up.

### Brahmanical Temples :

*Sikhara Types*: Besides the conspicuous temple architecture of Paharpur type in pre-Islamic epoch, Mr. S. K.—Sarasvati derives the following four types of which two are found side by side in Orissa (Kalinga), the third, which is in fact, combination of the first and second, seems to be peculiar to Bengal. The difference in each case consists in the form of towers capping the sanctum.

(a) The *Bhadra*, *Pida* or *Tiered Type* in which the roof over the sanctum consists of a series of gradually receding Tiered Stages crowned by the usuals including the Amalaka the first, and which seems to have been the most prolific, is characterised by a Pyramidal tower, known as Bhadra or Pida Deul in Orissa, where it was almost exclusively used as the roof of the Jagamohana (Porch). Such a tower has the shape of a high stepped Pyramid, the super-structure being made up of horizontal blocks of stones (Pidas), literally stories, gradually diminishing, with a recess between each course. Over the last course rests the huge Amalaka Sila on a narrow cylindrical neck, which is capped by the usual finials.

(b) The *Rekha* or the *Sikhara* type, characterised by high curvilinear tower and usual crowing elements.

(c) The Tiered type surmounted by stupas.

(d) The Tiered type surmounted by Sikhara.

The Jatar Deul (temple) belongs to the second type. Among the Mediaeval temples Sarkar's Math at Mahilara in Barisal district may also be roughly corresponded with this very type, but in this case the crowing element is a dome surmounted by finial, consisting of a lotus and over it a pitcher with an iron spike protruding above. Other examples are the Deul (temple) at Mathurapur in Faridpur district and the Math at Kodla in Khulna district. In these examples we have the appearance of shrines more than temples, as they consist mainly of *Sikharas*. What influence the Orissan style exerted upon these types of *Sikharas* is difficult to say. On the other hand these types can still be seen in the preserved temples in further India and Indonesia, a fact which indicates the great influence exercised by East Indian architecture in these regions.

*Bengali Style:* In Bengali style of architecture which developed subsequent to the Mediaeval period, Percy Brown recognised a "tendency towards a more primitive form of structural expression." The material used in it is brick alluvial soil. The architecture is characterised by "sloping roof, curved eave, and other similar features," obviously derived from wooden houses and bamboo thatched huts—so very common even in modern Bengal village. A few temples in this style of architecture, belonging to 17th-18th century. A. D., are preserved to this day. These temples are designed on the principle of a main structure, square in plan, its walls verticle, but the lines and plans, which in most buildings are ordinarily horizontal, in this type of structure are carried across its front in a series of parallel curves, bent in the form of a bow. Such a distinctive application of curves specially affects the form of the roof and its cornice or eave, which, in contour, are parabolic, and are clearly inherited from a bamboo framework, given this shape in order to throw off heavy monsoon. One example of this type is Bangala temple at Handiyal in Pabna district. The Rajaram temple at Khala in Faridpur district also belongs to the same type, but it is rectangular in plan, and is a two storeyed structure, consisting of six rooms in the ground floor and three rooms in the upper storey, with an open terrace in front. Another development of this style consists in the provision of a tower. Over the curved roof a tower is erected, sometimes singly but usually surrounded by cluster of corner towers, and according to the number of these, the temple is classified as *Pancha-ratna* or five gems

i. e. towers) or *nava-ratna* nine-towered, and so forth, one beautiful example is the *Satara-ratna* (seven-teen towered) temple near Comila built by one of the Rajas of Tripura in the 18th century A. D. Another variation is a double temple known as *Jora Bangla*, which differs very little in its interior plan, but has a distinctive exterior. As its name implies it is a twin (*Jora*) structure resembling two thatch—and—bamboo huts jointed together. One such example is the *Jora Bangla* temple at Dakshinreghavapur in Pabna district.

## MUSLIM PERIOD?

It is not quite unknown to historians how one fine morning of the year 1199 A. D., the redoubtable free-lancer Ikhtiaruddin Mohammad Bin Bakhtiar of Khalji, the Lieutenant of Qutbuddin Aibak, surprised the aged Raja Lakshman Sena in his Camp at Nadia, with only a handful of 18 of his retainers. The defunct administration could hardly offer an effective resistance against this tumultuous onslaught of this fiery small band of Muslim adventurers and consequently with a single stroke of fortune, Bengal passed into the hands of the Muslims, while the Brahmin King in order to save his life, escaped from his palace stealthily to Vikrampur which too was subsequently annexed by the new comers.

Thus was established the long period of Muslim domination of this province, in the course of which the Muslim culture and refinement continued to flourish under the fostering care of successive ruling princes and viceroys of the Mughul Emperors, down to 1707 A. D. when its incipient decadence was distinctly manifest.

In the course of this period of little over 500 years of Muslim administration of this province many a constructive work of monumental magnitude was brought into being and perished, the remains of a few of them can still be seen scattered in different parts of the country. This architectural activity may conveniently be divided into three phases. Firstly from the date of its conquest up to 1338 A.D., when Bengal was ruled by governors deputed by the Central Government at Delhi; secondly from the period of its assumption of independence in 1338 A. D. by the rulers of Bengal, till 1576 A. D., and the third phase corresponds with the above date when the province passed into the hands of the Mughul Emperors till 1707 A. D.

The conquerors had few chances of importing artisans from the country lying far away from the Capital of the Central Government of Delhi and in consequence were constrained to enlist the services of the builders and artists of the newly conquered territory and employ them for erecting their palaces and places of worship. This fact resulted in bringing into being a style of architecture, in successive ages, which is described by Fergusson thus, "It is neither like that of Delhi, nor Jaunpur, nor any other style but one purely local, and not without considerable merit in itself." The principal building material available in Bengal were timber and bamboo, though stone was also used, wherever it could be procured, which enormously influenced the architectural efforts in imparting to them some peculiar

curvatures. Besides the heavy downpour of rain necessitated the roofing of their dwelling huts to shape in such a way as to run down the rain water quickly and relieve the roof of its pernicious effect. This object was satisfactorily achieved by curving the the roofs of the buildings, for which bamboo and timber were found most suitable or account of their pliant nature. As a result of that, a special form of curved roof came into being. The convention was followed in almost all the subsequent construction of Bengal, whatever material employed. The early Muslim conquerors of Bengal, covering a period of little over a century and a quarter, being busily pre-occupied in consolidating their newly acquired territory, had seldom any opportunity to adorn their seats of Government with buildings and edifices of any consequence. The remains of a few of them, however of this period that have survived the revages of time, can be surveyed at Satgang, Tribeni and Pandua in the district of Hoogli (now in Indian Dominion). The chief characteristic feature of these and the subsequent monuments in Bengal are described by Sir John Marshal as "A peculiar form of curvilinear roof, commonly known as Bengali; square brick pillars of stunted proportions as well as more slender ones of stone; and curved or moulded surface decorations of almost ultra-refined elegance". The two specimens of early Muslim architecture of Bengal, can be seen at Tribeni where stands a roofless tomb and a mosque of Jafar Khān Ghāzi. The former is believed to have been built to commemorate the Ghāzi who is credited to have conquered southern Bengal in 1298 A. D. out of the materials of a temple of Krishna that existed on that spot; while the later, though of subsequent date was so extensively renovated during the reign of 'Alā-uddin Husain Shāh (1493-1518 A. D.) that it has almost lost its pristine architectural value. The *minar* or the tower of victory and a Jami Mosque at Pandua, erected by a Muslim saint known as Shāh Shaiuddin a nephew of Firuz Shaah Tughlaq affords us clue to the existing architectural style of the early Sultans of Delhi. The tower being 120 feet in height, appears disproportionate and unsymmetrical in relation to its diameter, and was presumably built in imitation to the *Qutb-Minar* at Delhi. The walls and the arches of the spacious Jāmi Mosque, on the other hand are of brick while the pillars, of basalt, evidently quarried from the dismantled Hindu temples. This magnificent mosque being an earlier construction, is supposed to have served as a pro-to-type, on the model of which the famous multi-domed Adinā Mosque at Pandua (Malda), the ancient capital of Bengal was built.

It is a singular misfortune for us that all the palaces and structures at Satgaon, once the sub capital and mint town under the Sultans of Delhi, should have been entirely ruined and converted into so many heaps of debris, completely enshrouded by thick rank vegetation

*Second Phase* —It is in the wonderful mass of ruins stretching along what was once the high bank of the Ganges for nearly 20 miles from Pandua southwards, in which stands countless derelict tombs, temples tanks and towers in imposing array, half buried in a luxurious vegetation that the glory of Independent Sultans of Bengal can rightly be gauged. Unfortunately most of these monuments lie now in the Indian dominion. But still for the convenience of the systematic study, as a component whole of this phase of architectural activities I am presenting a short survey of them. This second phase synchronises with the assumption of independence in Bengal, by Shamsuddin Ilias Shah in 1338 A. D. till its annexation to the Delhi Empire by Akbar in 1576 A. D. Although no architectural remains of importance have so far been assigned to Ilias Shah, we come across in the reign of his son and successor Sikandar Shah (1358-89 A. D. the magnificent mosque known as *Adina Masjid*—the most ambitious structure\* of its kind in Eastern India. In plan, it is a quadrangular\* construction, 507½ feet long and 385½ feet wide bounded on all the four sides by 88 arched screens, each surmounted by a dome. The cloisters are divided into 375 bays, 5 deep in the western and 3 deep on the other sides, while the naiv consists of a raised platform, apparently a Royal Gallery known as *Badshah ka Takht*, built in the northern wing of the prayer wing of the prayer chamber close to the pulpit and stand on very short square, nevertheless, ponderous, rather than pillars of abnormally thick type and surmounted by massive bracket capitals. The lower half of the main shrine as well as the whole of *Badshah ka Takht*, are built of black basalt and sand stone, evidently quarried from some ancient Hindu temples as can be witnessed from some pieces of sculptured stone improvised in the *Mithrab*. The whole of the inner western wall is daintily decorated with floral scrolls and flowing Arabesques or geometric traceries of surpassing elegance. The interior top of this stupendous mosque was originally roofed with domes of which only those over the Royal Gallery, survive at present.

At a distance of about a mile to the south west of the *Adina Mosque* one meets with another monument which marks an evolution in the art of

building of the early 15th century and serves as a prototype on the model of which several structures were designed in subsequent years. It is the *Eklakhi Tomb*, traditionally erected on the ashes of Jalāluddīn Muhammad Shāh, the proselyte son of Raja Kans or Ganesh, who is supposed to have usurped the sovereign power between 1409 and 1438 A.D. The Mausoleum is one of the finest specimens of architecture in Bengal, the most interesting characteristic being its gently curving cornice, octagonal turret at each corner and the expansion of the single dome, instead of many, with which the shrine is provided and carried on squinch arches and supported by pillars. A simple brick fabric of refined conception with spare use of stone slābs, it is a square,—rather low structure with a dimension of 75 feet each way, and a height of 25 feet up to curved cornice; the exterior being decorated with moulded terracota and curved bricks. The striking features are displayed for the first time in the history of Bengal architecture in the use of glazed tiles in the overhanging cornices of this monument.

Dakhil Gateway, believed to have been built by Barbak Shah (1459-74 A. D.) the *Tantipara Darasbari* and *Lotan Masjid*, ascribed to his son Yūsuf Shah (1474-81 A. D.) and the *Gumant Mosque* erected probably a few years later, are some of the instances of numerous architectural activities which characterised the restored Iliās Shahi Dynasty after the expulsion of the house of Raja Ganesh in 1438 A. D. *Dakhil Darwaja* is a superb example of what can be achieved in brick and terracota. 60 feet in height by 113 feet from back to front, with a central arched passage flanked by guard rooms on either side. it is provided with four corner turrets tapering in five storeys, once crowned by a dome. It is adorned with sunk panels and other motifs of Hindu origin, but its chief interest lies in the surprising boldness of its design and dexterous skill with which its facade have been diversified by alternative effects of light and shade.

Besides other monuments of lesser importance, the *Sathgumbad Mosque* and tomb of Khān Jahān Alī at Bagerhat, both dating from about 1459, are noteworthy for their architectural merit. The former is conspicuous for its corner turrets, which are strongly reminiscent of Tughlaq architecture, and for the un-usual treatment of its frontal cornice, which instead of being curvilinear, slopes away in straight line from small triangular pediment over the central bay. The monument, oblong in plan is purely brick work and the whole structure is roofed with 77 domes, arranged in 11 rows of 7 each, supported by 66 slender stone pillars. But the

exaggerated slenderness of the stone pillars has somewhat marred the beauty of the Mosque-

We observe a noteworthy change in the building art of Bengal in the *Gumiant Mosque* at Gaur where, although glazed tile work was also used, the coloured decoration was relegated to a subordinate position and supplemented by reliefs on stone. The ground plan of this mosque is not very much dissimilar to that of the *Adina*. Although stone work and reliefs are present in the *Adina* mosque obviously in those early days, the stone had been stripped from Hindu temples, and when the supply from this source became exhausted, its place was taken by brick. But later stone again came into fashion, being specially quarried in the distant Balasore and Rajmahal Hills.

The scions of Husain Shahi Dynasty (1493-1552 A.D.) were also great builders. They are the authors of innumerable new edifices, tombs and shrines, among which *Chhota Sona Mosque* at Gaur, built by Wali Muhammad during the reign of Husain Shah (1493-1519 A.D.), a mosque at Bagha in the Raishahi district dating 1523 A.D. and *Kusumba mosque* in the same district, the *Bara sona Mosque* at Gaur completed by Nusrat Shah in 1526 A.D. and the *Qadam Rasul Mosque* erected by the same emperor in 1530 A.D. — stand out prominent. Of these the *Bagha Mosque* and the *Qadam Rasul Mosque* are constructed of brick and terracotta, which manifest the increasing deterioration of building art of that period. The *Chhota* and *Bara Sona Mosques* are constructed of brick faced with stone both inside and out. Both derive their name, "golden", from the gilding of their domes with gold water, which originally enriched the monuments. *Chhota Sona Mosque*, the older of the two though far smaller, is more elaborate of the two. Having less than half the length of the other, it is provided with five arched openings in front and the mouldings of its cornice are duplicated and enriched, while the monotony of the domes is broken by the insertion of a curvilinear roof in their middle. The bareness of the stone wall is relieved by a wealth of foliated curve in low relief.

*Third Phase* - This phase of architectural activity commenced in Bengal with its annexation by Akbar- the Great Mughul in 1575. Though Persian in origin the Indian style is supposed to have been evolved from the existing specimens of buildings in the capital as well as in the principal townships of the province. The chief characteristics of this style constituted in the bulbous domes, wide and massive sunken arched openings in the



facade, tapering corner minarets and capitals of the shafts almost invariably in the form of bracket supports.

Humayun, the first Mughul Emperor who occupied Bengal for a short period and resided at Gaur, which he renamed as Jannatabad for its bracing scenery and climate, was no mean builder. But unfortunately no vestige of any building of that period exists in Bengal. It is a curious freak of fortune that buildings of early Mughul period should have perished in such a short time. The few derelict structures that survive, bear a very poor representation in comparison with the splendid edifices erected by the Mughul Emperors in their capital cities and principal towns in Delhi, Agra and their suburbs.

The congregational mosque at Chatmohar (Pabna district) erected in 1582 A. D. seems to be the earliest building in Bengal built in the reign of Akbar, by Ma'sum Khan Kabuli, a formidable Afghan rebel leader. The sanctuary now stands in a dilapidated condition which appears to have been originally a domical structure and stone constituted among the materials used in it.

The reign of Jahangir is more or less void in respect of architectural advancement, as no building of note has hitherto come to our notice in Bengal. The next monument in order of precedence, appears to be the two mosques erected in 1628 A. D. and 1632 A. D. respectively, during the reign of Shah Jahan at a place about a couple of miles from the Sherpur town itself in the Bogra district. The shrines are entirely of brick masonry of simple style and crowned with three domes without much decoration, whatsoever and provided with a massive turret at each corner.

Raja Man Singh is said to have built a palace and a fort at Sherpur in 1581 A. D., considering its strategic position in Bengal which he named as Salim-Nagar in honour of the Crown Prince. But no vestige of this palace or fort is traceable at present, as the site is completely enshrouded with dense thickets and shrubs.

The town and suburbs of Dacca are littered with the remains of a number of edifices and buildings attributable to the reign of Aurangzib, the notable among which are (a) *Idrakpur* and *Lalbagh Forts* (b) *Bibi Pari's Tomb* and (c) *Khan Muhammad Mirdha's Mosque*;

(a) *Ishakpur Fort*.— Built in 1660 A. D. by Mir Jumla, the Mughul Governor of Bengal, this brick-built fort was intended to serve as a strong outpost of Dacca against the Mughul and Portuguese pirates. Oblong in plan, measuring about 270 feet with a small entrance in the northern side, it is provided with a circular bastion at each corner. A noteworthy feature of the Fort is a huge circular solid platform or drum with a diameter of 108 feet and a height of more than 30 feet, negotiated by a flight of steps across the eastern wall of the main enclosure and itself situated in an annexe, 130 feet wide. A narrow staircase admits to the annexe from the summit of the platform. The huge circular drum was evidently intended to mount cannon of conspicuous calibre and serve as a watch tower, as well.

This may be of Portuguese inspiration as it is known that at that time many portuguese adventurers were admitted into the Mughul service.

Instances of a couple of similar outposts with identical artillery platforms of the same period can be seen at Hajiganj and Sonakanda forts in Narayanganj. The former is a hexagonal enclosure with circular bastions at the corners with loop-holes for musketry and provided similarly with a large square gun-platform towards the river.

These groups of forts affords an interesting feature of the 17th century coastguard works.

(b) *The Lalbagh fort and palace*, another group of notable structures at Dacca were commenced in 1678 A. D. by Prince Muhammad 'Azam, the third son of Emperor Aurangzib, but were never completed by him or his successor, Shaistah Khan. The buildings were of brick, the fort having a high massive enclosure walls, two thousand feet long and 800 feet broad, with bastions at each corner and provided with imposing gateways.

However, the most interesting building is the mausoleum erected in the centre of the *Lalbagh fort* over the remains of Pari Bibi or, Iran dukht, daughter of Shaistah Khan. The shrine is built of three kinds of stone—black basalt, grey sand-stone, and white marble and consists of central sarcophagus 19 feet 3 inches square, four side rooms and four square corner chambers. The walls of the central room are of white marble, while those of the corner ones, are decorated with glazed tiles and the whole being panelled in dark blue, orange green and crimson colours on a yellow ground. The plan of the roof is curiously of the old Hindu fashion

of overlapping layers, crowned with an octagonal pyramidal dome having a straight drum.

(c) The last of this series of ancient buildings in sequence is the mosque of Khan Muhammad Mirdha in Atosh Khanah locality of Dacca. It is a plain brick structure, surmounted by three domes of hemispherical shape and constructed on a terraced platform, measuring 125 feet by 100 feet and about 16 feet high, above the ground level. The basement of the platform, below the actual prayer chamber, contains 30 cloisters, intended obviously for accomodating devotees or theological scholars. A Persian inscription records the construction of the shrine by one Qadi 'Ibadullah in 1117 H (1706 A. D.) set up, over the central arched doorway.

The last group of structures associated with the name of Shah Ni'amat-ullah Wali, a reputed saint of the age, assigned to have been constructed during the reign of Aurangzib, which deserves our special mention. This group consists of a mausoleum, a *Jami' masjid* and a *Tahkhana* or summer resort, situated in a suburb of Firuzpur (Gaur). *Tahkhana* or the summer resort accredited to have been built by Prince Shuja', the viceroy of Bengal for his *murshid*. It is a two storey building, constructed in trabeated style. measuring 116 feet by 38 feet and flanked by a corridor on each of the front and back rooms. This is a singular structure among the ancient buildings of Gaur in which wooden beams are reinforced in concrete work.

### CONCLUSION:

In conclusion, I believe that it will not be out of place to mention that the glaring deficiency of data, especially in the pre-Islamic epoch, has so greatly obscured the details of architectural heritage in East Pakistan, that a through and comprehensive study on that subject at present, is obviously incomplete—if not impossible altogether. Leaving aside the ancient monuments which have perished irretrievably, it is the imperative obligation of the Pakistani Archeologists to salvage whatever vestige is still staggering in the distant unfrequented corners of Bengal, shrouded within dense thickets. However, I confidently hope that the day is not far off when liberal encouragement of our national Government and active sympathies of the public would inspire numerous energetic Pakistani scholars, to explore the hitherto unnoticed relics of the past and thereby replenish our existing knowledge with fresh lights and satisfy the growing intellectual curiosity of enlightened public in general.

## BENGAL AS NOTED IN *HUDUD-UL-ALAM*.

To the First Pakistan History Conference, held at Karachi in March, 1951, I contributed an article on "Early Muslim Contact with Bengal." Therein I missed to discuss the points given in the Persian work, *Hudud-ul-Alam*, compiled in 982-83 A. D. This book is not mentioned by Elliot and Dowson in their monumental work. Tomansky discovered a manuscript of the book dated 656 A. H. The Russian Orientalist, Barthold made a photographic copy of it and published it at Leningrad in 1930 with an introduction. Mr. Ramkumar Chaube published an English translation of the portion relating to India and Sind in the Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Third Session, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 663 ff. The author does not mention his name. The book is dedicated to Muhammad Ibn Ahmad (Al Hars or Haras), who is supposed to have been one of the princes of Gozkon (Persia).]

Like Al-Biruni, our author begins his description of the countries and cities from the east and goes to south, and west and last he takes up north. In Eastern India he first mentions three kingdoms—(i) Kingdom of *Qamrun* (obviously Kamrup or Assam), in which lay the cities of *Samph* and *Mandal*; (ii) Kingdom of *Qimar*; and (iii) the king *Sitoha*, who held sway over *Fansur* and *Hadanjira*. Then follows the description:—

“*Namiyas, Harkand, Aurshin, Samandar, Indrus*.—They are five cities situated on the ocean and are under the king *Dahum*, and *Dahum* does not regard anybody greater than himself. He has an army of 300000 men and from nowhere is got the wet variety of aloes except the kingdoms of *Qamrun* and *Dahum*. Here cotton of good variety is produced which grows on a plant which produces fruit for several years.”

The above quotation can be favourably compared with the account of *Rulm* or *Rulmi* known to us from Sulaiman, Ibn Khurdadbeh, Al-Idrisi, and Al-Masudi. The only difference occurs in the additional names of the five port towns. Of these, *Samandar* and *Aurshin* (*Urnashin*) occur in Ibn Khurdadbeh. The mention of fine cotton and wet variety of aloes together with the fact that *Dahum* is associated with *Qamrun* leave little doubt that the kingdom of *Daham* can be no other than Bengal. The aloe of Assam and Bengal is even now cherished by the Arabs, and I have met Arab merchants settled in Sylhet district still carrying on trade in aloe. The mention of military strength as well as the high

pretention of the *Dahum* king answers exactly to the description of the king of *Ruhm* or *Ruhmi*. The very name *Dahum* seems to be the same as *Ruhm*, and if this identification is correct, we can very easily connect *Dahum* with *Dahm*, *Dham*, *Dhamma*, or *Dharma* (pala), king of the Pala dynasty of Bengal. Hence the corruption of the word *Ruhm* from the original *Dharma* (pala) can now be fairly understood. The fact that our present author also mentions the name of Dharmapala proves that his source of information was the stock-knowledge of the Arab geographers.

Little doubt now remains in the suggestion that Samandar was a port town in Bengal. *Aurashin* should also be sought for in Bengal rather than in Arakan, as was proposed in my earlier article.

## FURTHER MUSLIM FOLK SONGS OF EAST BENGAL.

In the last All Pakistan History Conference at Karachi I presented before you translations of some Muslim Folksongs of East Bengal. I present before you now further Muslim Folksongs of East Bengal.

The Government of Pakistan patronised a village poet from East Bengal to enable him to attend Folk Music conferences that were held in Indian University, U.S.A., and Belgrade in Yugoslavia. Last time I emphasised upon the Government the need of collecting, editing and translating and publishing of Folksongs all over Pakistan. In repartitioned Bengal under the able steering of justice A. Mukerjee the then Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University, Dr. D.C. Sen did splendid service to our Ballad literature of Eastern Pakistan by collecting, editing, translating and publishing the magnificent volumes of "Eastern Bengal Ballad." In fact these treasures are fast fading away because of changed educational angle of vision, economic uncertainties, and also because of pleasure seeking in picture oalls. Further the old singers and composers are dying and they are not replaced by younger groups. In Eastern Bengal only a very small fragmentary work has been done in collecting, editing and publishing folksongs and ballads. I do not know anything about the progress made in similar attempts in the other provinces of Pakistan. Dr. H. T. Sorely did splendid work in giving a scientific account of the life and work of Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit in Sind. Dr. Ram Krishna Lajwanta did similar work in her "Punjabi Sufi poets". Until and unless these materials are collected, edited and translated no definite conclusion can be arrived at. Further no scholar of international reputation is working in the domain of folksongs and ballads in Pakistan as Verier Elwain is doing among the aboriginals in Madhya Desh or Central India. I heard of Dr Arnold Bake doing some musical notations of Indo-Pakistani folksongs. But Dr. Bake is in England now. How can he work? Our village poet Mr. Jasimuddin [of East Bengal could have done some work. But he did not do anything.

The facts that are of great interest for the study of thought impact on the masses of the country are to be found in folksongs of Eastern Bengal. That Islam was never propagated by the sword may be deducted from the huge mass of folksongs and ballads prevalent in the country side of Indo-Pakistan sub-continent. Because in the folksongs we find the quick

domination of Islam over the thought currents of Indo-Pakistan, and it is surprising not a single reference do we find therein of use of violence in conversion. And still further folk-poets and ballad composers in Eastern Bengal actually were converts from the fold of Hinduism into Islam. As for example I may cite a typical case of Shah Lalan Faqir (1858-1916) whom Dr. Tagore introduced to the scholars of the world was actually a Hindu but later on he accepted Islam.

The folksongs that I present before you are of mystic nature and experience. We are proud of Shah Abdul Latif of Bhit and I believe if you read Shah Lalan Faqir, we shall all be equally proud of him. Among the masses of Eastern Bengal, where illiteracy and ignorance are the dominant factors, these folk composers and folksongers worked as great spiritual lovers in Islam. And these folk-poets were generally 'Be-shara Murshids' to the people at large. In Eastern Bengal the great *Sufis* like Hadrat Shah Jalal, Shah Noor Qutbul 'Alam, Shah Makhdum Shah Mather and host of others.—the detailed study may be found in History of Sufism in Bengal. But these folk-poets and folk-singers did leavening work of islamising the thought of the masses in Eastern Bengal. Really they did splendid work for us. It is up to the Historian of Pakistan whose duty it is to assess the value of the services in thought currents and dissemination of Islamic mysticism as well as propagation of Islam in Eastern Bengal. I believe, our Universities may focus their attention to hunt these treasure troves of historical documents before they are for ever lost.

I give below translations of some songs with biographical sketches of their composers.

### Biographical Sketch of Shah Lalan Faqir (1858-1916).

The name of Shah Lalan Faqir as a mystic folk poet is well known throughout Bengal—East and West. He was born in 1858 and died in 1915. It was Dr. Tagore who first discovered this remarkably powerful poet of the people. Dr. Tagore witnessed to Lalan's music, delighted and absorbed in it. For collection of his folk-songs. Dr. Tagore sent one of his assistants, late Kali Mohan Sen, a social worker of Saonria, where was the Astana of the Faqir Saheb. Saonria is situated within stone's throw from Kustia, the district head-quarter of the district of that name in East Pakistan. Dr. Tagore, now and then invited the Faqir Saheb to his green boat at Selaidah in Kustia. Lalan had flowing hair

and was blind Late Mrs Satyendra Nath Tagore saw him in the boat at Selaidah and enjoyed his music Shah Lalan Faqir was Hindu by birth His former name was Lalan Chandra Roy He was Kayastha by caste In early life he went along with his mother to Navadwip, place of pilgrimage for the Hindus situated in West Bengal for a holy bath Here he was attacked with severe small pox His mother, being despondent of his life left him on the shore of the river at Navadwip A poor Muslim woman came to fetch drinking water from the river She heard his piteous appeal for drinking water She gave him water to drink and later on brought him to her house for nursing God saved Lalan This woman was childless and her husband was a beggar Lalan embraced Islam, seeing the goodness of poor couple This man taught Lalan the rudiments of Islam He initiated him also in Islamic mystic ways

After finishing his apprenticeship in mysticism he came back to his home and asked his wife to accept Islam But his wife did not agree to it His mother tried to keep him in the house But he did not agree to stay there and went out for extensive tour in the country He sojourned widely in search of a spiritual teacher. Near Kumarkhali, in Kustia he met Siraj Shahi, a mystic, He accepted his discipleship Siraj was a planquin-bearer by profession Occasionally Lalan would work in his place After finishing mystic courses he came to Saoneria (in Kustia) and settled down in deep jungle and began to meditate And in the long run he became a perfect adept in the ways of mysticism During this period he lived on the fruits of the jungle As a result of joyous experiences of mysticism he composed a large number of folk-songs People came to know him and began to send him presents After this he entered in marital life and got a woman of weaving section as his companion He had no children He had large number of disciples throughout Bengal—East and West After his death his disciples in thousands assembled near his *maqbarah* to celebrate the passing away of their master

## FURTHER MUSLIM FOLKSONGS OF EAST BENGAL.

### (1)

'Tis a very wonderful miracle,  
Burns there a light of beauty beneath fathomless water ,  
Moon, Jewel, Pearl, and Diamond  
Keep encircling that light  
Three unions thrice occur in that house ,



Knows he this who knows the Great Law,  
 Now and then the light grows in full lustre ;  
 Sees he this who has the desire to do so at heart ;  
 It happens, says Lalan, at the time  
 When one has light gloom.

## (2)

A strange man roams in the country :  
 One should know who he is.  
 He transcends the code of religion :  
 'Tis not the rule of his life :  
 He may be appreciated by the initiated only,  
 Whose minds are free from diversion.  
 He is a strange flower growing without tree,  
 Floating by the bank of the river of Love :  
 A white-bee-nightingale sips honey from this flower.  
 What can I tell you of this, for information ?  
 He is *Mim* in *Alif*, sound of a in *Mim* :  
 Lalan says : Don't despair :  
 One ought to know him through a spiritual guide.

## (3)

If I can get the favour of Gour Chand,  
 I care not a while if I lose all worldly help  
 If I die today, tomorrow will be the second day :  
 Can any body carry with him his familiy rank ?  
 In a two-days' sojourn in this world,  
 Pride for family rank ill-befits a man.  
 Fie, we boast of family rank,  
 When Lord Gour is bank in a bankless sea.  
 Big waves rise between, how to go over them ?  
 I was the proud bride of a high family,  
 But, am carrying the bag of a beggar on shoulder.  
 Lalan says, Gour is best :  
 Him obtained, I do not chase for anything.

## (4)

When thought springs in the heart,  
 Soft flashes will come from there.  
 In a heart which is devoid of thought

The *Vedas* yields no profit in reading :  
 If you be a possessor of thought always,  
 You will know everything both hidden and exposed.  
 Flowers of a hundred or thousand leaves, too,  
 Are bright with light of this Beauty  
 He who has a glimpse af this Beauty,  
 Will see tomorrow Death flying from him  
 To worship by guesing only  
 Is as if you are catching a serpent in the dark,  
 Those who can think, says Lalan,  
 Will find their path with the light of this Beauty.

## (5)

The mind has gone wrong,  
 I am in the dark from birth :  
 Intoxicated with pleasures of life,  
 The heart can scarce hold the passion of love.  
 How can I have my Guide's compassion,  
 When mine is an animal's melody, devoid of love?  
 Forsaking priceless treasures,  
 I die by swallowing poison :  
 Heedless of the Guide's advice,  
 I stand perplexed, without any footing.  
 Say this all, both old and young,  
 That the Saint's heart is full of joy,  
 Lalan complains that his heart  
 Never gets free of cheerlessness.

## (6)

I see feats of a strange Saint, so strange that  
 If I stretch my hands nothing comes to my grasp :  
 Everything disappears, whether beard or hair.  
 I see, in the troop of actors,  
 The saint with clothed hair ;  
 What kind of Saint is he ?  
 Brother, tell me what love fills his heart.  
 What strange things happen at the end of Kali,  
 How many strange things will come to this land,  
 To see them is to sit in dumb wonder :  
 Brother Lalan, the day is wearing out.

(7)

I get such happiness in this land ;  
 God forbid that I go to another land.  
 Owner of this broken boat.  
 I spend whole life in boiling out water.  
 Whose I am or who is mine,  
 The coveted object, nobody can say.  
 The sky is pitchy dark with Vedic clouds,  
 The light of day never comes to view,  
 What do I get in this world ?  
 Worthless I am without devotion.  
 I do not know for how many days  
 I shall sail this boat laden with sins,  
 Will the great God show mercy  
 To a sinner of my nature ?  
 Lalan asks when it will be his lot  
 To serve at the feet of his Lord.

(8)

To what land do you like to go, my mind ?  
 I have no objection to your going where you like.  
 But when you go to Goya, Kashi, Mecca, or Medina,  
 You must not fall back, never;  
 Do you think, my mind, that at the holy place  
 The mind does not suffer any sin ?  
 Quarrels are in your body always,  
 Creating confusious there, day and night.  
 Wherever you will go, mad you will remain;  
 None can stop you from your madness.

.....  
 Says Siraj Sai, how intelligent  
 Is Lalan, a simpleton though he is.

(9)

Hearing this and that from many people,  
 I fell, I know not how, into the Saint's book;  
 And gradually a burden was felt on the head.  
 Him whom there is the desire to see  
 The mind has not the firmness to see.  
 Beside that the mind is running,

It runs there, still vacillating.  
 One mind asks me to go to Kashi;  
 In the next moment I prepare to fall back.  
 I am perplexed between two pulls,  
 Where to go I know not at all.  
 He who thinks of one worships one,  
 He finishes the crossing over to the next world  
 Lalan falls into great troubles,  
 He is in the last extremity in this regard.

(10)

Why he calls you loudly,  
 The Man near at hand;  
 Where you are he too there is,  
 Whom then do you search for?  
 Him whom you get close at hand  
 You search throughout Delhi and Dacca  
 What laws find you in this search?  
 Day and night he is near you;  
 Have you not the intelligence to know this?  
 Like flashes of lightning,  
 He flares up now and then,  
 In the pleasure-stage of that home.  
 What a stupid mind you are; void of wisdom;  
 He is verily with you;  
 It is a house within a house,  
 Mind, you should search there,  
 And see whose presence is in that house.

### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SHAH SHAIKH BHANU (1862-1916)

Shaikh Bhanu was a powerful mystic and Folk Poet of Eastern Pakistan. He was born in 1862 and died in 1916. The name of his father was Shaikh Nasir Uddin. He was a day-labourer and an accomplished artisan. Shaikh Bhanu belonged to the village of Adikara in the Porghana of Bamai in the sub-Division of Habibganj, in the district of Sylhet in Eastern Pakistan.

Shaikh Bhanu was totally illiterate. Shaikh Bhanu, Shakh Nur, Hassan, Raja Shah Sitalang and Shah Darkara, were all contemporary folk-poets and mystics. Shaikh Bhanu was a small trader in oranges and rice. He

accumulated some money by trading. Up to 40th year of his age he engaged in trading. The hunger of his soul was not satisfied by his money won. He plunged within him-self and began to pity himself.

At this critical moment he met his spiritual guide named Milan Shah who was an adept in spiritual matters and a deep scholar too. Milan Shah belonged to the land of the Tartars. During his itinerary he arrived at the house of Shaikh Bahnu and accepted his hospitality. He gave him instructions in spiritual life and initiated him too.

Shaikh Bhanu wrote a large number of Mystic Folk Songs known to the old and the young of the district of Sylhet. His songs should be collected, edited and published. I give below a translation of his song, (I am indebted to Prof. K. Mukherjee for it)

He has entered the flower garden?

Is it a gold-tester?

Ah, he seeks to test the sweetness of a lotus by rubbing it against a black schist?

It is useless for one who has no feeling for 'rasa' to go into a flower garden in the dark.

O bee, do go into the garden at midnight.

The guru has caused such a flower to open as it without any leaf or branch or tree.

Only a feeling man can understand that and no theologian.

O bee, do go to the garden at midnight.

If you light the candle of your heart you will see flowers of many kinds: and many kinds of buds will come out.

O bee, do go to the garden at midnight,

Poor Shaikh Bhanu says—In our heart raise the waves, and like a lotus float on the Ganges.

O bee, do go to the flower garden at midnight!

### BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF SHAIKH MADAN SHAH.

Shaikh Madan Shah was contemporary to Shah Lalan Faqir (1858-1916) and belonged probably to the same district of Khushtia in Eastern Pakistan. Prof. K. Sen of Visvabharati University of Tagore collected his songs and brought them to the notice of the Poet Tagore. Prof. Sen says

"Gangaram and Madan were two friends Madan's songs are as deep as beautiful" Dr Tagore remarked over the collections of folksongs made by Prof Sen as priceless

In fact Madan Shah has the depth and poignancy of Rumi the mystic and Abul Khair the Sufi He does not like the shackles of conventionalism in the philosophy of life and love His biographical material is scarce upto now

I give below some translations of his songs (For some of the translations I am indebted to Prof K Mukherjee)

(1)

If you wish to get hold of unknown,  
If you like to contact the Wonderful Man  
Then find out the ferry man  
Spread out the net from the Sky down the underneath (patal),  
The ascetic you are to get the moon of sky  
If you be one in soul and body, you can attain Him  
Says Madan Shah, time is fast passing away

(2)

Oh God, Your path has been covered with mosques and temples  
Hearing your call, My Lord, I tumble over them  
And my spiritual Guide forbids me to proceed  
The thing by immersing in which one gets cooled  
If that burns the world,  
Then tell me my spiritual Guide  
Where one is to take his stand?  
The creed of unity is killed in differences  
In Your door there are many locks,  
The Puranas, the Koran, the Rosary and the Tasbe  
The path of dress is the greatest suffering  
And cries out Madan in helplessness

(3)

If you ask me to stop, I have no strength that  
I may listen to you,  
Some flowers say their multicolour,  
Some flowers say their prayers in darkness of night in fragrance

The violin says its prayers in its strings, and my  
Prayers burst out in my songs.

## (4)

'O cruel and of pressing need  
Are you for frying on fire your mind which is still in bud ?  
In your hurry, you will make it blow before its time and scatter its  
perfume.  
You should see that my most venerable Teacher takes ages to make  
the bud open into flower and come into full beauty ;  
He is never in a hurry.  
Your greed is great and so, you depend on force.  
What other course is open to you ?  
Says Madan, listen to my supplication,  
and do not hurt the feelings of that Supreme Teacher.  
He who follows the simple way and loses himself, is alone fitted to  
receive the knowledge and message of God,  
O cruel and of pressing need.

## (5)

Throughout the ages, the heart-lotus opens,  
There is no way out, for you and I are both bound up in it.  
It blows, and blows and blows : there is no end to its blowing.  
It has a honey that produces a certain peculiar emotion,  
You, greedy bee, you cannot give up your quest after it.  
So, you and I are bound ; and know no liberation.

## A NOIL ON ISA KHAN AND HIS FAMILY

The family that emerges triumphantly out of the whole episode of resistance to Mughul penetration into East Bengal is that of 'Isa Khan Bhati. This family played a leading role in East Bengal from the time of Akbar to Aurangzib. Isa was the head of a confederacy of *zamindars* called the *Barabhuys* or twelve *zamindars*. He resisted *Khan Jahān Muzaffir Khan Turbatī*, *Shahbaz Khan Kamboi* a general under 'Azam Khan and *Sadiq Khan* and then *Mansingh*. 'Isa relied on his *nawwara* or fleet of boats in this opposition to the Mughuls. The Mughuls encountered a new type of difficulty in a land full of big and small rivers and vast watery regions. Isa Khan very often temporized—he often submitted to Mughul power and then broke the peace. Isa died in 1599 and then there was rejoicing even at the Delhi Court so reports *Abul Fadi*.

Musa Khan and his *Barabhuys* continued the resistance to Mughul power. Isa Khan's governorship (1608-13) is nothing but an account of suppression of the various *zamindars* of Bengal, *Mus Khan* in his brothers *Mahmud*, *Dawood* and others fought hard and then submitted finally in 1612 and were put in prison at Dacca. Musa's son *Musum Khan* fought in the Mughul army in the Assam campaigns and carried his fleet up to Allahabad during the flight of *Shahjahan* through Bengal and then returned to Bengal without notice to the Mughul fleet. *Musum Khan*'s son *Munawwar Khan* was second in command of the Mughul army that captured Chittagong from the Arakanese and Magh pirates in 1666. One of the main roads of Dacca is still named after *Munawwar Khan*.

The descendants of 'Isa Khan are even now a big *zamindar* family in East Bengal and are settled in the district of Mymensingh at a place called Hybatnagar. This family has wielded very great influence—culturally for three hundred and fifty years. The wife of our President—the Hon'ble Mr. Fazlur Rahman is related through her father to this ancient family.



## MUGHUL CONQUEST OF BENGAL 1576-1612.

The story of the subjugation of Bengal forms a most thrilling chapter in the history of the Mughuls in this sub-continent. Unlike other parts of India Bengal took an unduly long time for the Mughuls to conquer. Bengal of the Mughul period extended from Rajmahal and Kuch Bihar to Chittagong. The province sometime included Orissa, parts of Kamrup and Cachar. The Mughul power encountered here difficulties of a nature they had not known before. The country was full of rivers and water belts like the Bhati area in the east of the province. The climate was extremely unsuitable for men coming from the drier regions of the north-west; it was moist and in certain areas highly malarious. The Arakanese in combination with Portuguese pirates carried on depredations in the south-east. The Mughuls were forced to build a fleet to guard against the refractory *zamindars* popularly called the *Barabhuysans* or Twelve *zamindars* and also against the pirates round about Chittagong and Sandwip, an island in the Meghna estuary.

Mahmūd Shah, son of Husain Shah, was virtually the last independent Sultan of Bengal. His capital, Gaur, fell into the hands of the son of Sher Shah. Humayun was the first Mughul emperor who made an attempt to conquer Bengal. Humayun passed through the Garhi Pass to Gaur, named it Jannatabad, struck coins, read the *Khutbah*, July 1538. The news of Mirza Hindal's rebellion forced Humayun to return to Agra. On his way he was defeated at Chausa by Sher Khan, June 26, 1539. Bengal temporarily conquered was lost to the Mughuls. The Agents of the Sur Dynasty continued to rule till 1565. Then followed the family of Sulaiman Kararani which ruled the country till 1576.

Sulaiman made himself the ruler of the province in 1564. He was a man of great prudence. He read the signs of the time correctly. Even before he came to the throne he had sent congratulations and presents to Humayun when the latter returned to India. He sent similar presents and formal acknowledgements to Akbar although he continued to mint his coins and have the *Khutbah* read in his name.

Khan Zaman, the Mughul Governor of Jaunpur, had built the fort of Zamaniya on the borders of Bihar to guard the Mughul frontiers in that direction. He appointed one Asadullah, Commander of the fort. This man offered to surrender the palace to Sulaiman. Mun'im Khan, who

succeeded Khān Zaman, prevented this by successful persuasion, Sulaiman saw the need of placating the imperial power by sending presents and reading *Khutbah* in the name of Akbar. It was about this time that Sulaiman conquered Orissa and secured the person of Ibrahim Sūr and had him killed. Sulaimān died in 1572 (980 A. H.).

Sulaiman was succeeded by his eldest son, Bayazid; but he was a weak king and was killed a few months after his succession. The murder was avenged by Daud Khan, who was then raised to the throne by the nobles (1572). He was foolish enough to abandon his father's policy of conciliating the Mughul power. He seized Zamaniya—the border fort of the Mughuls. Mun'im Khan advanced against him and after some skirmishing, both sides made terms and retired to their respective provinces. Akbar declined to ratify this treaty and appointed Raja Todarmal to assist Mun'im Khan. Akbar determined to conquer Bihar.

Just about this time Daud had his Minister Lodhī Khan murdered and Mun'im Khan tried to take the fullest advantage of divided counsels in the Afghan camp. Akbar had just finished the second Gujrat campaign and Mun'im Khan begged him to come to Bihar in person. Akbar made elaborate preparations and left the capital in June, 1574, by boats down the Ganges. The main army was sent by land by the northern bank of the Ganges under Mirza Yusuf Khan. When the army reached the frontier of Bihar (August 3, 1574) it was brought over to the south of the river at Chausa. The Emperor landed near Patna in the first week of August. He soon realised that Hajipur, opposite Patna to the north of the river, formed the chief bulwark of the besieged city and decided to invade it. Akbar reviewed the place from a high hill and directed his boats against Hajipur. The enemy opened heavy fire but the troops disembarked and captured the place. Daud fled down the river Ganges and Akbar entered Patna (1574). Akbar pursued the enemy to a distance of 30 kos (50 miles) and then turned back. Mun'im Khan was transferred to the governorship of Bihar. Todarmal was also left behind to assist Mun'im. Akbar spent sometime at Jaunpur in making necessary arrangements for the administration of the province of Bihar.

Mun'im prosecuted the campaign with vigour and captured Munghir, Bhagalpur and Kohl-gaon. Then he appeared before the very difficult pass of Garhi, situated between the Rajmahal hills to the south and the Ganges to the north, a fort guarding the pass. The local Zamindars

assisted the imperialists and the pass was taken without a struggle. Daud fled down the Bhagirati and Tanda fell into the hands of Mun'im Khan. Mun'im remained at Tanda to settle the affairs of the province and Todarmal pursued Daud into Orissa. Majnun Khan Qagshal was detained to clear the Afghans out of Ghoraghat area which he did.

In Orissa, the Mughul forces met with some reverses at the hands of Daud's cousin Junaid Khan. Todarmal requested Mun'im to join him. Mun'im arrived and soon after a battle took place at Tukaroi (Abul Fadl), or according to Badauni at Bajhore. The issue of the battle was long in doubt but the Mughuls ultimately won the victory (February, 1575). Daud fled to Katak and began to collect his dispersed soldiers. Todarmal was sent to pursue him. His army met with some reverse. Mun'im Khan and Todarmal came within 2 miles of Katak. Daud was defeated. He offered to submit to the Emperor on condition of being allowed land enough to maintain him. His offer was accepted and Orisa was settled on him (April, 12, 1575 A. N.). Mun'im returned to Tanda. Meanwhile the Afghans had ousted the Mughul garrison at Ghoraghat. Mun'im Khan reoccupied these places and transferred his capital to the old site of Gaur in order to be nearer the scene of difficulties. A great pestilence broke out and carried off thousands of Mughuls and also Mun'im Khan. He died at Tanda on October 23, 1575 (A. N.).

On hearing this news of Mun'im's death, Daud Khan advanced against Tanda and occupied it. Husain Quli Khan, governor of the Panjab, was appointed governor of Bengal with the title of Khan Jahan (November 15, 1575 A. N.). Owing to some delay in Khan Jahan's taking up of his new post, Bengal was already lost to the Emperor who sent peremptory orders for reconquest. Muzaffar Khan Turbati, governor of Bihar also joined Khan Jahan. The united imperialist forces advanced to storm the fort of Teliagarhi which they carried by assault. Khan Jahan then advanced to Akmahal or Rajmahal. The two armies met and fell to fighting furiously. Kala Pahar, the ablest general of Daud, at first gained some advantages against the right wing of the imperial troops. But the Mughuls ultimately won the battle (July 12, 1576 A. N.). Daud was pursued and captured. Khan Jahan ordered his execution. Khan Jahan proceeded to Satgaon where Daud's family lived, defeated remnants of Daud's followers and annexed the place. Kala Pahar, the well-known general of Daud was also persuaded and killed in battle. Khan Jahan continued to be the governor till his death in December, 1578 at Sahatpur near Tanda. (Maathir-ul-Umara. Vol. I.)

Muzaffar was appointed governor of Bihar after Mun'im was transferred to Bengal. He had worked at the Fatehpur Secretariat in the Finance Department with Shah Mansūr and Raja Todarmal. Muzaffar had enforced the *dagh* regulations in Bihar very strictly and had also enforced strictly the resumption of *Jagirs* initiated from the headquarters since 1574. These made him many enemies. Bihar *Jagirdars* became restive. Then he was transferred to Bengal. He continued to enforce *dagh* regulations and resumed all *Jagirs* to which the possessors could not prove their titles. He also claimed the refund of government money which officers had spent without authority. These harsh dealings combined with his sharpness of tongue earned for him the hatred of the Chaghtai noblemen. He was foolish enough to bastinado Khaldūn Khan, one of the highest noblemen in the country. He rebuked Baba Khan Qagshal, another leading *Jagirdar*. A great rebellion broke out in Bengal. About the same time the whole of northern India was up in arms against Akbar's throne as a reaction against his religious innovations. The risings spread from Bengal to Kabul. Ma'sum Kabuli headed the rebels in Bihar and advanced eastwards to meet the Mughul chiefs led by Babakhan Qagshal and others who were at the head of another rising round about Ghorāghāt. Royal troops were defeated near Garhī and then they were pursued to Tanda where Muzaffar had taken shelter. Muzaffar was killed in April, 1580. The rebellion assumed serious proportions and Bengal and Bihar were lost. The rebels secured a Chaghtai prince Sharfuddīn Husain Mirza as leader.

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Pending the arrival of a new Governor, Akbar sent Raja Todarmal to restore order in Bengal and also issued orders to the Jaunpur and Bihar forces to assist him. The Raja perceived that the rebel forces could not remain together for a long time. He entered Munghyr and threw up defences round it and called on the *Jagirdars* to meet him there. Rebel forces began to disperse and Garhī fell into royalist hands for the third time. The rains came in and prevented pursuit. Some imperialists in Oudh broke out in rebellion.

'Aziz Kokah' was appointed governor of Bengal (1580), and Shahbaz Khan Kambu was appointed to assist him. Shahbaz crushed the rebellion in Oudh; 'Arab Bahadur, a rebel chief was killed. The rebels were now being pressed from the north. Tanda fell to Khan-i-Azam. The Mughul force met the rebels at Kaliganj and faced one another for about a month and the royalists won a complete victory. Some troops were detained to

keep a watch on Qatlu in Orissa. The Mughuls then pursued the rebels upto Ghoraghat and destroyed them. At this stage (1835) Khan-i-Azam was relieved at his own request. The rebels were pursued to the Jumna and royal arms won a victory over the Afghans on the river Damodar. Māsum Khān, Kabuli took shelter with Isa Khan, *Zamindar* of Bhāti.

‘Isa Khan, the ruler of a Bhati was the son of Rajput of the Bais tribe. His father Sulaiman rose in rebellion against the rulers of Bengal, was taken prisoner and killed. Isa and his brother Ismail were sold into slavery. Isa’s uncle Qutubuddin Khtn recovered the two nephews. Isa became the overlord of Bhati which extended from Jelassore to the Santhal hills and from the Himalayas to the Bay. Isa “made twelve *Zamindars* of Bengal to become his dependents.” By his foresight and adroitness, he continually professed his allegiance to the rulers of Bengal and sent his tribute but he took care not to see them.

Sadiq Khan was appointed to succeed Azam Khan in Bengal. Shahbaz Khan was dissatisfied but had to assist Sadiq. Shahbaz ordered Isa Khan to surrender Ma’sūm Kabuli but ‘Isa refused. Shāhbāz pursued Ma’sum to Khidrpur at the confluence of the Burigona, Lakhiya and Meghna. The place was guarded by two forts on two sides of the river. He then followed Ma’sūm to Sonargaon and then to Khatrapur where the magazines were and then to Mashhadi a large town. Masum Khan retreated to the Brahmaputra and was forced to take shelter in an island on the river. Isa Khan who was away in Kuchbehar came up. His intentions were suspicious. The Mughul forces fortified Kumara Samundar and pursued Ma’sūm into Bhawal where they met with a reverse. Shahbaz occupied a position on the Paner river, a tributary of Brahmaputra and began to negotiate with the wily ‘Isā, whose words and intentions were not in unison. The enemy restored to a novel mode of warfare. They cut open the banks of the the Brahmaputra at places and flooded the Mughul camp and battery and began to attack by boats called ‘*Biyara*’ in the language of the country. The enemy was repulsed and this kind of warfare continued for seven months.

‘Isa now ‘awake from dreams of ignorance’ and consented to send presents to the Emperor, on condition that Ma’sūm was allowed to proceed on *Haj*. Sonargaon received an imperial darogha. Meanwhile the haughty temper of Shahbaz had alienated his officers. ‘Isā Khan came to hear of all this. Shahbaz crossed to the south of the Brahmaputra

and waited on the confines of Bhawal to watch how Isa fulfilled his part of the condition-

The latter made fresh proposals to gain time. The war was revived—a battle took place and some disaffected chiefs joined 'Isā. The imperialists were defeated and began to retreat towards their capital, probably by the Brahmaputra and could not rest till they reached Sherpur (in Bengal). Then he realised how he had alienated many and from the capital he proceeded to Agra. He, however, was ordered back to Bengal. He once again appeared on the Jamna at the head of the reinforcements. Ma'sūm Khan, who was holding Sherpur, retreated before superior forces and fled to Orissa. On the way he fortified Trimohana where the Ganges, Jamna and Sakti met. 'Isā offered to submit but the offer was not accepted. Masum and 'Isā fled and trouble again broke out in Orissa and fighting went on around Burdwan.

Akbar sent strict orders that Bengal troubles must be brought to an end. Shāhbaz put forth fresh exertions and Isa offered his second submission to the Mughuls and sent presents to Court. Orissa troubles were also ended for the time being by allowing Qutalu to hold Orissa. Shahbaz was recalled in 1587 A. N.

Wazir Khan, brother of Abdul Majid 'Asaf Khan succeeded Sādiq for a short while. Soon after Sāid Khan was sent to Bengal. During Said's term Mansingh led an expedition to Orissa through Jharkhad. He had sought the aid of Said Khān which the latter could not render on account of the rainy season. Near Bishnupur in Bankura the royalist forces met with a reverse. But Qatlu died from the effects of a wound. Qatlu's son and the Afghans submitted to a peace and ceded Puri (1591).

The Afghans again began to trouble. Mansingh led another army into Orissa, this time, with the aid of Said Khan. The Afghans were defeated and Mughal Officers were given *jagirs* in Orissa. Mansingh then succeeded 'Said Khan as Governor of Bengal in 1595. He founded Rajmahal in November 1595. He ordered some Afghan *jagirdars* to his presence. They took alarm and rose in rebellion in West Bengal. They began to retreat towards Bhati and captured Sripur, the fort of Kedar Roy and Chand Roy because they had joined sides with the imperialists and found shelter with 'Isā Khān the doughty champion of Afghan independence. At the instance of Isa the Afghans returned the fort and territories of Kedar. After

Mansingh became Governor he was able to keep Isa in check for some-time. In 1596 Mansingh captured the capital of Kedar and Kedar sought shelter with 'Isa, Mansingh made Ghoraghat his headquarters. 'Isa, Masum Kabuli and the Afghans went up by boats and came within 12 *kos* of the place. But as the river was dry they could proceed further. They came back to the fort of Egarasindur. In this year 'Isa helped a candidate to the throne of Kuchbehar in opposition to an imperialist candidate. Durjan Singh, another son of Mansingh proceeded against 'Isa's capital Katrabo. Durjan was defeated and killed in 1597. 'Isa died two years after in 1599. Masum Kabuli had died just before 'Isa Khān. The Afghan cause received a severe check. In October, 1603 Kedar Roy was defeated by Mansingh, 'Uthman Khan of Orissa was in rebellion at the death of Akbar and was at the head of a quite big host and was posted at Bukanagar,

Mansingh had to come away to court in 1605 and 'Abdul Majid Asaf Khan remained Governor of Bengal till the re-appointment of Mansingh to the province after Akbar's death. Jahangir considered it prudent to forget for the time being Mansingh's share in Khuerau's intrigues for the throne. Mansingh, however, was recalled in 1606 only eight months after his appointment. The Afghan trouble led by 'Uthman was still unsubdued when he left.

Qutbuddin Khan Kokaltash was appointed to succeed Mansingh. Qutbuddin was a grandson to Salim Chishti through a daughter.

Jahangir Quli Khan, Governor of Bihar, proceeded to Bengal by the order of Jahangir. He was a son to 'Azam Khan. He was very religious in temperament but, the climate of the province did not suit him as it did not to his father. "He contracted a severe illness, in consequence of the bad water and air of that place and by degrees" it killed him just after a year of his charge. Then came Islam Khan. He was appointed Governor on May 6, 1608 (20th *Muharram*, 1017). He was also raised to a *mansab* of 4000 and 3000 sawar, Afzal Khan, son of Abul Fazl, being sent to replace him in Bihar.

When Islām Khān was appointed to Bengal 'most of the servants of the state made remarks on his youth and want of experience.' one of his earliest acts was the transfer of the capital to Dacca which he renamed Jahangirnager, and 'made the subjection of the *zamindars* of the

neighbourhood his chief object. The Lalbagh fort which stands to this day was his work. Although Jahangir does not specify the pirate danger, we have reasons to think that this was one of considerations in the transfer of the seat of Government. The Portuguese pirates had settled on the Chittagong coasts. They were temporarily ousted from these areas by their overlord—the Raja of Arakan. The Mughul Fowdar of Sandwip—Fath Khān killed all pirates he could lay his hands on in the islands in the mouth of the Meghna. Fath Khan pursued the pirates to the island of Dakshin Shāhbāzpur where in a naval action he lost his life. Then the pirates were joined by the Maghs or natives of Arakan. One Sebastião Gonzales became their leader. In March 1609 the pirates invaded and occupied the island of Sandwip and massacred a large number of Muslims. He gathered a large fleet and swept the neighbouring seas including Shāhbāzpur. He was soon joined by the King of Arakan in his depredations against Mughul territory. "Arakan pirates, both Magh and Firingi, used constantly to come by the water-route and plunder Bengal, They carried off Hindus and Moslims... that they could seize, pierced the palm of their hands, passed thin canes through the holes, and threw them one above another under the deck of their ships."... ..; the Rajah (of Arakan) appointed the Firingi pirates to plunder Bengal." Nāwab Islām Khān collected a fleet and an army under Abdul Wahid and drove the Arakanese with great slaughter beyond the Feni river. Soon after his appointment as governor he transferred his capital to Dacca (1608), Islam Khan was simultaneously engaged operation against the Zamindars and the pirates, who between them made life unbearable in Bengal. He had therefore transferred the seat of government to Dacca in order to be nearer the centres of trouble.

Abul Fadl and Mirzā Nathan, two contemporary writers frequently talk of 'twelve bhuiyans' led by Isā Khān and Mūsā Khān. There is doubt as to who those twelve bhuiyans were. Abul Fazl did not mention them by name and Mirzā Nathan is not quite clear. Dr. Wise wrote an article in 1874 in J. R. A. S. on the twelve *Zamindars* and what he wrote was an amalgam of history and local tradition. He mentioned seven bhuiyans namely the Gazis of Bhowal, Chand Rai and Kedar Rai of Bikrampur, Lakhan Manik of Bhalun, Kandarpa Narayan Rai of Chandra dip, Isā Khān Masnad-i-Alā of Khizrpur, Pratapaditya of Jessore, Mukund Rai of Bhusna. Abul Fadl did not mention these zamindars by name except Isā Khan and the Mughul rebel Ma'sūm Kabuli who took



shelter with him, But Mirzā Nathan the author of the *Baharistan-i-Ghabi*, who, along with his father Ihtimam Khān, the admiral of the Mughul fleet in Bengal, played an important role in the repression of the *Zamindars*, certainly mentions more than twelve *Zamindars*. The *Baharistan* often talks of Mūsā Khān and the twelve bhuiyans. He hardly leaves any doubt that the twelve bhuiyans were subordinate to Musa Khan.

The *Baharistan* is very deficient in the matter of dates; but it gives more details of expeditions against the refractory zamindars than any contemporary or later histories do, e. g., the *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* or the *Riyazus-Salatin*. Soon after Islam Khan arrived at Gaur, now known as Akbarnagar, he set out on an expedition down the Ganges, fighting the turbulent zamindars on the way. He planned several expeditions, one combined naval and military operation against Mūsā Khān, son of Isā Khān of Bhati down the Dhaleswari and the Buriganga, under his own supervision, a second under Iftikhār Khān against Raja Satrajit, son of Raja Mukunda, zamindar of Bhusna and a third under the command of Shaikh Kamal, against Bir Hamir of Birbhum, Shams Khān of Pachet and Salim Khan of Hijli. The expedition against Bhusna and the West Bengal districts succeeded eminently. All the *zamindars* submitted after nominal or no resistance and they were confirmed in their territories. Then Shaikh Kamal rejoined Islam Khān, engaged in the main expedition at Alāipur near Putia in the present Rajshahi district. Meanwhile Mūsā Khān had escaped down the river to Sunargaon. Islam Khān passed from Alāipur to Shāhpur near Naogaon. Here Raja Pratapaditya attended on Islam Khān, his son Sangramaditya having already joined the royalists through the mediation of his envoy Shaikh Badi.

Islam Khan then left for Ghoraghat. He wanted Pratapaditya to send his flotilla to the assistance of Ihtimam Khan and to get ready to serve on the expedition against Musa Khan personally. Ihtimam Khan was despatched to his Jagir, the pargana of Kalabari, to make arrangement for the expedition. At Shahazadpur Raja Rai a *zamindar* offered resistance. The fort of Chandpratap held by a Mughal officer—Mirak Bahadur Jalair was surprised by number of supporters of Musa but they had to beat a hasty retreat when aid came to it. Meanwhile the Mughul fleet proceeded down the Karatoya via Siyalgarh to Shahazadpur, Islam Khan having gone ahead a few days earlier. Islam Khan then arrived at Katasgarh at the meeting place of the Padma and the Jamuna. He then proceeded down a small river and occupied Jatrapur in the first week of

July, 1611.' A few days after an intermediate station 'called Dakchara was captured on July 11. Musa Khan, after these reverses, retired to Dacca and from there to Katrabo. One night Mirza Nathan surprised and carried Katrabo. Musa fled to Sunargaon and from there to the island of Ibrahimpur. Musa's brother Daud gave life in resisting the Firingi pirates. Just about this time two supporters of Musa sent in their submission, Bahadur Gazi to 'Abdul Wahid and Majlis Qutb of Jalalpur in Fathabad to Shaikh Habibullah and Satrajit Singh who were leading the expedition against them. The Firingi chief Anik Farank (Anaporam?) promised to make himself responsible for the good behaviour of Bistam Gawsawal Firingi, (Gonzalos), the master of Sandwip. The zamindars were confirmed in their Lands as jagirs but forfeited their boats. Raja Ananta Manik of Bhalua was pursued into Magh territory beyond the Feni river. Bhalua was occupied by 'Abdul Wahid. When one by one most of the zamindars made their submission, Musa also submitted with all his brothers and subordinate bhuiyans. He and his supporters were given back their *zamindaries* but were confined at Dacca.

After Musa Khan surrendered with all his brothers and the Twelve Bhuiyans it was decided that Musa Khan would personally remain at the Court (of the Governor), and Mahmud Khan his younger brother with all the *zamindars* will proceed ...under the chief command of Ghiyas Khan and the leadership of Shaikh Kamal and Shaikh Wahid. Ihtimam Khan will proceed against Khwaja Uthman Khan proceeded with 300 war boats and heavy artillery. The Mughul army halted at Husainpur and Islam Khan directed movements from Tuk in the Dacca district. Another halting station for troops was Yarasindur. Anwar Khan, the *zamindar* of Banachang joined Mughul army. The army advanced stage by stage, building mud forts at distances of a few miles. The army then forced 'Uthman to flee from Bukainagar in the direction of Sylhet over the Laur hills. The Mughul army then returned to Dacca.

Just before the defeat of Uthman, Anwar Khan, Mahmud brother of 'Isa Khan and Bahadur Gazi of Chawra conspired to rebel. But the Mughuls got scent of the plot and Mahmud and Bahadur were imprisoned and kept at Dacca. Anwar fled to his own *zamindari*. Raja Satrajit was deputed against him and Anwar again submitted seeing that resistance was useless after the defeat of Uthman. Islam Khan then despatched Shamsuddin Baghdadi against Pahlwan, *zamindar* of Matang and Taraf held by Mumriz, son of Uthman and Malhi, his brother. Shamsuddin

raised a fort between Matang and Taraf. The Afghans tried to take this fort but failed. Shamsuddin and *Pahlwan*, the generals of the two rival armies met in an encounter and both lost their lives. The two forts then fell into Mughul hands.

Isā Khān then detailed another army against Raja Pratapaditya of Jessore and Raja Ramchandra of Bakla. Ghiyas Khan was put in charge. Nathan was in charge of the boats. Udayaditya, son of Pratapaditya offered much resistance with his fleet but all his efforts against the Mughuls failed and Pratapaditya had to submit. He was imprisoned at Dacca. Ghiyas Khan sent one small army under Sayed Hakim and Raja Satrajit with 3000 match lockmen and many boats against Raja Ram Chandra of Bakla. Ram Chandra submitted and was imprisoned at Dacca. Some minor disturbances were created round about Alaipur (Pabna) and Bakla by petty *zamindars* and they were suppressed.

After his defeat at Bukainagar, Uthman reaching Sylhet via Laur he took up his residence at Uhar in Chawallis pargana. At Islam Khan's suggestion, Emperor Jahangir appointed Shujāūt Khān, a near kinsman of Islām's who had been on the staff of Prince Parvez in the Deccan, to the command against Uthmān. Some officers at Rohtas and Munghir were also ordered to join the expedition, Before Shujaat started out of Dacca, he was formally appointed to the Governorship of Orissa. Shujaat Khan proceeded via Khidrpur and Yarasindur and Sarail at which last place a master of troops was held. From there the army and navy proceeded to Taraf and the Pass of Tupia. At this stage some reinforcement arrived from Dacca. On the news of the advancing army, Uthman left his retreat and advanced to a place called Dawlambapur. He selected a site for his troops behind a marsh, Uthmān was offered the option of submission and a mansab of 5000 which the Afghan chief scornfully rejected. A severe, confused and prolonged battle followed. Uthmān was struck by an arrow in the eye and as he tried to pull out the arrow his eye-balls came out and he sank in his seat on the howda of his elephant. His dead body was carried by his followers after the defeat of his army to a secret spot near Uhar and wives and daughters were put to sword lest they might fall into the hands of the hated Mughuls. Uthman's son Mumriz and brothers made their submission and were sent to Dacca kept in the custody of Shujaat who made himself responsible for them. Soon after this, Bayazid, zamindar of Sylhet, against whom an expedition was sent, also submitted.

For a long time there was doubt as to the site of battle. Stewart was wrong in placing it on the Subarnarekha in Orissa. The *Makhzan-i-Afghani* places it at 100 kos from Dacca at Nek Ujyal. This ought to create difficulty but the *Baharistan* is very explicit. It mentions Sylhet, Chawallis pargana, Daulambapur and Uhar. The *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* talks of *dar adhar* and Mr. Beveridge was not quite sure if it was a place name. Jahangir mentions Sunday. 9th of *Muharram* as the date of battle which agrees with the *Baharistan* and may be converted to 12th March, 1612, according to Beveridge.

Thus Islām Khan completed the subjugation of the zamindars of Bengal and was raised to a *Mansab* of 6000.

## JAHANGIR'S RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE MURDER OF SHER AFGAN.

A perusal of the charming *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri* brings one home to the fact that it contains nothing but the truth. Jahāngir's penetrating intellect records all the events which it knows to the best of its knowledge. Among many other accounts, he also mentions matters concerning his household. He mentions his marriage with Jagat Gosain (commonly known as Jodh Bai). Suddenly we find Jahāngir mentioning in the 9th year of his reign (*i.e.*, 1614), the name of Nūr Jahān that none on the earth was so dear to him as she was. We are at once left in the lurch, who this Nūr Jahān is? When was she married to the Emperor? Why has the Emperor considered it advisable to conceal this fact from us? At once, suspicion reigns over us with the irresistible conclusion that there is something wrong committed by Jahāngir. His silence is suggestive here.

Zakaullah in his "*Tarikh-i-Hindustan*," tries to exonerate Jahāngir from such accusations on the plea that this omission was due to a mere slip of pen. He is further improved and developed upon by Beni Prasad. Let us study their arguments.

(a) Beni Prasad believes in Jahāngir's sincerity and considers his silence on this episode the main proof of his innocence. But one fails to understand as to why Jahangir did not mention his marriage with Nūr Jahān, the lady who exercised a tremendous influence later on, over the body and soul of her husband. Her marriage must have been an occasion for great rejoicings and how Jahangir, who depicts himself a master of the minutest possible details, simply forgets mentioning this prominent event in his Autobiography?

(b) According to Beni Prasad, Nūr Jahān came of a distinguished Persian stock, her father held a high place at the Imperial Court. The marriages between the Mughuls and Persians were common and Akbar would have been hardly unwise to forbid such a marriage. But it seems that Akbar had two objections against this marriage, (i) unsuitableness of the marriage, simply because Jahangir was the heir-apparent and Mehr-un-Nisa came from a commonfolk. (ii) This marriage in the opinion of Akbar, would increase the status of Mirzā Ghiāth (the father of Mehr-un-Nisa) and that would mean the domination of the state by the common

folk. That Mirzā Ghiāth was not a man of high status is corroborated by the fact that Jahāngir, who was so generous in awarding *Mansabs* and his Subedars were often '*Cheh Hazari*', awarded to begin with, only a mansab of '*Dō Hazari*' to Mirza Gaiath in the 6th year of his reign.

(c) Beni Prasad fails to understand the reason as to why Nūr Jahān was not married to Jahāngir immediately after the murder of her husband and why she waited for four long years. The answer, however, is not far to seek. Jahangir might not have been in a hurry to marry her, but he would have made it known to her that she is meant for him alone, and for none else.

(d) The relations between Man Singh, (the Governor of Bengal) and Jahāngir had been strained ever since the last days of Akbar. The then Salim had rebelled against his father. Sher Afgan was on his staff, but had deserted him later. Jahāngir suspected Man Singh of complicity with Sher Afgan in a conspiracy against him. No sooner did he become the Emperor than he issued orders for the dismissal of Man Singh and sent Qutb-ud-Din as his successor to the Governorship of Bengal. He also ordered Qutb-ud-Din to proceed personally to the *jagir* of Sher Afgan, to arrest him there and then and send him back to the imperial court.

A curious thing to note, however, is, that why Jahangir ordered Qutb-ud-Din to proceed personally to the estate of Sher Afgan for his arrest. Sher Afgan was an insignificant *Mansabdar*. The provincial Governor could have easily summoned him to his court, charged him with treason and ordered for his arrest. Why this extraordinary procedure of sending a high-ranking provincial Governor for the arrest of a petty *Mansabdar* was adopted is suggestive. Qutb-ud-Din went to Sher Afgan's estate with a number of retainers, whereas Sher Afgan who expected no treachery, came forth along with two attendants only to receive him. When Qutb-ud-Din learnt that the object of their arrival was his arrest, cold shiver ran through his veins, he was fired with rage and cut Qutb-ud-Din into pieces? Why Jahāngir paid his special attention to Sher Afgan, an insignificant person. Why did he not turn his attention to any big *Mansabdar* in Bengal? No satisfactory answer to this query has been found out.

Jahāngir felt that he had been deprived of his bride by Sher Afgan and no sooner did he ascend the throne than he took active steps to procure

her by making her a widow. The proof of it is evident, as this incident happened so early in his reign.

In the opinion of Beni Prasad, this incident is a scandal, as "scandal of this kind spreads like fire." But allowance must be made for the times as well. It was the practice of the day. Akbar had married the widows of Bairam Khān. Aurangzib had married the widows of Dara.

Why the European writers who were so notorious scandal-mongers are silent on this incident, the reason is not far to seek. They might have been ignorant of it, or they might have considered it an ordinary matter, as it was a common practice of those days. Most of the other contemporary writers are also silent on the matter as they did not see anything worth mentioning in it. History of Phalodhi (Rajput sources) written in the first half of the 17th century makes a notable mention of this incident. Muhammad Sadiq Tabrezi, the author of *Subh-i Sadiq* (under Shāh Jahān) mentions it as well.

The above narration makes it crystal clear that Jahāngir intrigued for the murder of Sher Afgan, in order to rob the latter of his bride, to whom Jahangir was passionately in love. Another surprising thing mentioned in the *Tuzuk* is that the widow Mehrun-Nisa was brought from Bengal and was immediately admitted to the household of the Emperor. Why this thing was done, one fails to understand? Mehr-un-Nisā was having good many relatives with whom she could have put up at Agra. Here at the imperial palace, all sorts of persuasions were resorted to, so that she may agree to marry Jahangir, but she resisted this temptation for four years. At length, she yielded to the dazzling prospect of becoming the Queen of a mighty Empire. She married her lover and was bestowed with the honour of Nūr Jahān.

Thus we come to the irresistible conclusion that Jahāngir got Sher Afgan murdered in order to procure Nur Jahan. He deliberately ignored mentioning his part in this murder so as to cancel his fault.

## ANCIENT IRAN NAMES OF OUR SUB-CONTINENT, HINDUSTAN AND INDIA.

The ancestors of the ancient Iranians and the Hindus lived long together in the stem land of the Aryans. When they separated in pre-historic times one tribe came and settled on the land which they called *Aryana*. later *Iran*. The other went southwards and settled in the land which they first called *Aryavarsha* or *Aryavarta*, 'The Land of the Aryans'.

The valiant princes of the Vedic period, called *Bharatas*, conquered great part of the country. The great epic *Mahabharata* is named after them. From *Bharata* the country received its name, *Bharatarvarsha* or *Bharatabhumi*, 'the land of the *Bharatas*.'

Another name given to the land of their settlement was *Jambudvipa*, which formed the central place round about Mount *Meru*.

These names that the Hindus had given to their new settlement did not survive.

*Avesta*, the sacred language of the Ancient Iranians is the sister language of *Sanskrit*, the sacred language of the Hindus.

The *Sanskrit* word for river is *Sindhu*. This common noun designating river later becomes the proper noun. The seven rivers where the settlers lived was called *Sapta-Sindhu*. 'The Land of Seven Rivers' It is called in the *Avestan* language '*Hapta Hindu* or the *Seven Rivers*.'

In the hymn dedicated to the angel *Sraosha* in *Zoroastrianism* it is said that the angel *Sraoska* drives forth every night in a heavenly chariot drawn by four white horses that are fleetier than the wind, fleetier than the rain, fleetier than the winged birds and fleetier than the welldarted arrow. Thus does he drive every night from *Iran* to guard the sleeping mankind, from the onslaughts of demons, towards *Hapta Hindu* or *Sapta Sindhu*, that is, to the land of the seven rivers or to the river *Sindhu*.

The ancient Iranians called the country of the river *Hapta Hindu*, as *Hindustan* and the people residing there as the *Hindus*. When the *Mahomedans* later came to *India* in the seventh century, they perpetuated the name '*Hindustan*.'

Two of these seven rivers were later engulfed in the remaining five rivers. Consequently that part of the country came to be called *Punjab* or the Land of Five Rivers.



East and West met for the first time in history in the sixth century in Iran or Persia, as the country now came to be known. Cyrus founded the Achaemenian Empire. The capital was in the southern province of Pars. The Greeks now came in close contact with the Persians. They pronounced Pars as Perse from which rose the names Persia and Persians. The Achaemenian Empire rose to be the largest empire in the world. It had 23 Satrapies or Colonies, among these two were Sind and Punjab, which were the colonies of Persia for two centuries.

The Greeks pronounced the word Hindu as Indos, the country of the river Indus. We find from the Ionian Greeks that they dropped the aspirates. Hence came Indus, India and Indians.

Thus did Iran or Persian give the names Hindustan and India to this great sub-continent.

## A PEEP INTO THE HISTORY OF CHITTAGONG

The ancient history of Chittagong is wrapped in darkness. Nothing can be said with any amount of certainty regarding the people living in this region before the 8th century of the Christian era. The popular version is that one Bikarna, son of Karna, ruled Chittagong in ancient times and that his capital was Kanchannagor, said to be included in the Faticchary police station of Chittagong district. Afterwards there was chaos followed by the rise of the hill tribes, such as Riang, Pohang and other. It is also generally maintained that the Hill tracts of Chittagong were then peopled by the Maghs, Chakmas and some other tribes. The whole district was then under the domination of the Raja of Tippera. 'A large tank still stands on the northern side of the town, known as 'Dighi Tippera': and in its vicinity a forest is known as 'Jungali Tippera.'

*Nomenclature of Chittagong* : The popular belief among the illiterate people here is that the place where Chittagong now stands was inhabited in ancient times by Fairies and Genii, and a few hills and islands here are named after them, such as 'Koh-i-Shah Pari', 'Dip Shah Pari', etc.; and that 12 Muslim Saints or one Sufi named Badr Shāh lit here a lamp which is said to have special charms resulting in the sudden flight of the Fairies and Genii. This place was thus named 'Chati gaon'—a village of light (Chati in Bengali means light or lamp which—gradually became Chattogram in Bengali and Chittagong in English.

Rejecting the above version as superstitious, we may accept one of the following versions regarding the nomenclature of Chittagong more or less as correct :—

- (1) This town which was originally composed of 7 villages was known before as 'Sati gaon' and later it became 'Chatigaon' or 'Chattogram' presumably because the letters *S* and *CH* have some affinity in sound.
- (2) The word 'Chati' means in Bengali 'Small piece of land' and as Chittagong was a very small village in the beginning it was given the name of Chatigram or Chittagong.

It may be added that the great Muslim adventurer, Ibn-i-Battuta has in his travels referred to Chittagong as 'Madinat-ul-Akhzar', i.e., the green town. Maulana Hamidullah Khan Bahadur writes in his *Tarkh-i-*

*Islamabad* that one of the names of Chittagong was ' *Madina-i-Sabz* ', i.e., the green city.(1)

*Arrival of Muslims in Chittagong* : From the records available so far it appears more or less certain that the Arab sailors and traders landed in Chittagong in the beginning of the 8th century of the Christian era. They arrived in East Bengal almost at the same time when Muḥammad bin Qāsim was engaged in the conquest of Sind. Within a century or so the Arab traders and adventurers permanently settled in the district of Chittagong and organised themselves into an independent unit under their own Chief and began to preach the teachings of Islam in the region lying between the rivers ' Irravady ' and ' Meghna '.

Towards the close of the 10th century A. D. the King of Arakan ' Tsandays ' attacked Ghittagong and compelled the small band of Muslim settlers to concede their possession to him. After some time the Raja of Tippera invaded Chittagong and snatched half of the town from the king of Arakan. In this way a tug of war continued for about 200 years between Arakan and Tippera for the occupation of the district of Chittagong.

*Pre-Mughul Period* : In 1199 A. D. Muhammad Ibn Bakhtīār conquered Bengal, but he or his successor did not pay heed to south-east Bengal. It is said that one general Tughril Khan rose in prominence in East Bengal and after defeating the Raja of Tippera captured Chittagong in 1279 A.D. The Muslim rulers again became indifferent to this region for a pretty long time. In 1337 A. D. Fakhrudīn Mubārak Shāh established an independent Muslim kingdom in Bengal with Gaur as their capital. Three years later (in 1340) he led an invasion into Tippera and after crushing the Raja's army occupied it. His victorious army marched on Chittagong also. Again there was lull for some time. In 1430 A. D. Jalaluddin Muhammad Shāh defeated the Arakanese and forced their king

(1) The town of Chittagong is situated on the bank of the river ' Karnafuly ' which is so named, according to popular beliefs, because in the bygone days a king and his queen were crossing the river in a boat when her ear-ring (*karnaphul*) fell in the river, and in spite of all possible efforts it was not traced out, and hence the river became famous by that name. There is still another version, viz., the early Arab traders of this region dealt in spices. *Qaranfal* (Clove) being chief of them, and as that spice was very popular among the people of the locality, the said river 'assumed' the name of Karnafuly.

to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Bengal Muslim kings. Now the Arakanese and their kings came in close contact with the Muslims and it was not unusual for the Arakanese to adopt Muslim ways of life and even assume Muslim names. They also got the '*Kalimah-i-Tayyiba*' engraved on their coins.

In 1512 King Husain Shāh of Gour sent a contingent to conquer Chittagong, which had been recaptured by the Raja of Tippera. After a series of battles Husain Shāh personally led an army and inflicted a crushing defeat on the enemy. Then his son and successor Nusrat Shāh effected the conquest of the whole district of Chittagong in 1523 A. D. and named the town as "*Fatihabad*". At Hathazari—about 8 miles distant from the town of Chittagong—lies a big tank named after him '*Nusrat Badshahur Dighi*.'

*Mughul Period*:—In 1575 A. D. the last independent Muslim ruler of Bengal, Dāud Khān, was defeated and killed by the Mughul army during the reign of Emperor Akbar and Bengal including Chittagong became a part of the Mughul empire. But it may be said without fear of contradiction that Akbar and his immediate successors to the throne of Delhi paid little or no heed to this part of the country, with the tragic result that the Portuguese began to plunder and ravage the people here at their sweet will. They had become a great source of terror to the simple minded people and the great rulers at Delhi did not adopt necessary measures to check it. Further the Arakanese, the Tipperaeans and the Portuguese alternated their incursion into the district of Chittagong whenever opportunity arose. Islām Khān, Governor of Bengal, recaptured Chittagong in 1638, A.D. and it was probably after him that the town was named "*Islāmābād*". It must be said to the credit of Aurangzeb, most sensible and conscientious Emperor among the great Mughuls (his critics' mis-representation notwithstanding) that it was he who came to the rescue of the helpless people of the place. He sent his maternal uncle Nāwāb Shāīstah Khān to Bengal to purge it of the menace caused by the Portuguese and Arakanese and established peace and tranquility there permanently. The Nāwāb crushed the Arakanese, the Maghs and other unsocial elements and reconquered Chittagong. His son Buzurg Umeid Khān, the commander of the army, victoriously entered the town on the 27th January, 1666. From this time onward Law and Order reigned supreme in this region, and the people heaved a sigh of relief. Chittagong again became Islāmābād a name which remained in force until the advent of the British rule.

*Later period.* Nearly a century later, *i.e.*, in 1760 A.D. Nawāb Mir Qāsim of Bengal conceded Chittagong to the East India Company and after the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 It became an integral part of the British Empire. On the 14th August, 1947, the Muslim State of Pakistan came into being, and East Bengal with Chittagong—the major port and second largest city of the Province—became part and parcel of the new State of Pakistan.

*A few historical places in Chittagong :* 1. The port—Chittagong has been a sea port from times immemorial. It was this port which attracted the Arab sailors within a century of the Islamic era. The port was called by the Portuguese “Porto-Grando”, *i.e.*, the big port. Chittagong like other parts of the province was criminally neglected by the foreign rulers. Now that the national State of Pakistan has been set up the port has been making expansion and progress. The sea is only about 14 miles distant from the Railway Station. A pucca road leads to it with the Air port of Patenga on the way.

2. The *Jami‘Masjid* at Anderqilia—This great mosque was built by Nawab Shāista Khān and his son Buzurg Umeid Khān, conquerors of Chittagong, in 1670 A.D. (1078 A.H.). As this mosque occupies a hill-top and looks like fort (*qila*) the whole area is named ‘Anderqila.’

3. In the centre of the town, at Rahmatganj, is situated a famous mosque known as *Qadam Mubarak Masjid* which was built in 1136 A.H. by Nawāb Yāsin Khān, Governor of Bengal. This mosque is so named because it contains a stone-slab which is supposed to bear the footprint of the Prophet of Islam (may peace be upon him.) God only knows how far this version is correct.

4. *Wali Khan’s Masjid* built by Nawab Wali Khan Beg in 1753 near Chauk Bazar.

5. Mahalla Rhmatganj, in the heart of the town, was named after Nawab Rahmatullah Khan (1700-1706).

6. Askarabada place on the west of the town, bears the memory of Nawab Askar Khan, (1669-1671 A.D.). A tank is also named after him as “*Askar Dighi*”.

7. Chauk Bazar, on the north east of the town, was the place, where the old town of Chittagong was situated.

8. Bakhshirhat is an old bazar in the eastern part of the town, near which lies another bazar, viz Hamidulla bazar, named after the famous historian of the town Maulana Hamidulla Khan

9 Ghat-Farhad Beg, near Anderqila, commemorates the memory of Nawab Farhad Khan (1678-1679 A D)

10 Holishahar and Patenga lie in the south west of the town, where was located a workshop of ship-building in early times. It is said that one ship 'Bokland' built by the local carpenter sailed up to England

11 Fairy Hill, present Court hill, lies in the centre of the town. All court buildings of the town are located here

12 Diang hill, on the southern border of Chittagong, within the jurisdiction of police station 'Anwara', was the centre of the Portuguese activities. From here they could easily plunder the sea going adventurers and merchants

It may be stated here that the so called Mazar or Chilla of Sultan Ba Yazid Bustami in Nasirabad, 4 miles off to the north-west of Chittagong, is merely the creation of the imagination of the superstitious people. As a matter of fact Ba Yazid Bustami never set foot on this soil, not to speak of his dying or lying buried here. Maulana Hamidullah Khan Bahadur has, in his famous book "*Tarikh-i-Islamabad*" (also known as *Ahadith ul-Khawann*), rejected the above version as fictitious and added that some of early Muslim travellers, following in the footsteps of Hindu Jogis and Sannyasis, fabricated this story with a view to collecting the people together from far and near and realising money from them in the name of the shrine.

It is also believed by the masses of Chittagong that a spring on the west of Sholashahr Railway Station (2 miles off from the town) is called "Shaikh Farid Chashmah" after the famous Persian mystical poet Shaikh Fariduddin 'Attar, who is supposed to have come and passed 12 years in meditation here.

The following books have been consulted

- 1 *Tarikhul Khawann*, by Maulana Hamidullah Khan Bahadur (In Persian)
- 2 *Rajmala* (In Bengali) by Pandit Beneshwar and Shukreshwar
- 3 *History of Chittagong* in 3 volumes (In Bengali) by Maulvi Mahbubul Alam
- 4 *A Short History of Chittagong* by Syed Ahmadul Huq M. A. (In English)

## THE MUGHUL-MARATHA TREATY OF APRIL, 1752.

### INTRODUCTION.

Under the dashing lead of Peshwa Baji Rao I, the Maratha armies swept over the whole of Central India and acquired Malwa in 1728, Bundelkhand in 1729 and Gujrat in 1730. His son and successor Balaji Baji Rao (1740-61) wanted to get these acquisitions legalized by a treaty with the Mughul Emperor<sup>1</sup>. But the Emperor of Delhi was suspicious of the policy and motives of the Maraths and, therefore, did not agree to it. Consequently the hostilities between the two powers continued.

From the year 1737 onwards the populace of Delhi found itself placed on a volcano, for that very year Peshwa Baji Rao I, attempted an onslaught on that imperial seat and the Maratha arms began knocking at the gates of Delhi. The fears of the man in the street were not without foundations. The annual Maratha expeditions into Northern India continued even after the death of Baji Rao in April, 1740. After him his son Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao tried to persuade Emperor Muhammad Shah through Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur to appoint the Peshwa governor of Malwa and thus deliver it officially to him. The Emperor did not agree to this proposal and used dilatory tactics and, therefore, as a last resort Balaji Baji Rao had to use force.

### The Marathas in North India:

Between 1741 and 1748 Balaji Baji Rao personally led four important expeditions into Northern India and also kept a watchful eye on the motives and activities of his generals there. But on the death of Shahu in December, 1749, Balaji's preoccupations in the politics and intrigues of southern India left him little time to attend to the affairs in northern India for the next eleven years, i.e., upto the year 1760. During this period the two Maratha chiefs, Malhar Rao Holkar and Jayappa Sindhia were left in northern India to decide matters in any way they thought fit. Though Raghunath Rao, the Peshwa's brother, was sent twice to the north, he could not do anything of importance there.

### The First Invasion of Shah Abdali:

Nadir Shah, who invaded India in 1739, was assassinated in June, 1747, and his throne was seized by one Ahmad of the Sadozai section

<sup>1</sup> V. G. Dighe: *Peshwa Baji Rao I and Maratha Expansion*.

of the Abdali or Durrani tribe<sup>1</sup> of the 'Afghans'. Ahmad Abdali laid claims to Nadir Shah's Indian conquests. He led his first expedition into the Punjab in 1748 on the invitation of the younger son of the late governor Zakaria Khan.

On hearing of the Abdali invasion, Emperor Muhammad Shah called for the Maratha help, but before this relieving force could arrive, the invader was defeated at the battle of Manupur by a Mughul army under the command of prince Ahmad, son of Muhammad Shah, and Safdar Jung, the Nawab of Awadh. This victory, however, proved to be the last Mughul success against the Abdali.

Ahmad Shah Abdali retaliated by invading the Punjab next year (1749) and compelling the new governor of that province, Mir Mannu or Mu'in-ul mulk, to pay him annual revenue for four districts of the province. Meanwhile, prince Ahmad who had fought against and defeated Ahmad Abdali at Manupur, had succeeded his father Muhammad Shah as Emperor Ahmad Shah on April 29, 1748, after the latter's death on 26th, April. Safdar Jung, the Nawab of Awadh, was appointed Wazir of the Empire besides continuing as Nawab of Awadh.

### Party Politics at Delhi Court

Safdar Jang's uncle who came to India as a Persian adventurer was the first man in the family to have joined the imperial service. It was not possible for a foreigner to have established aristocratic connections in one generation. Being a Persian, Safdar Jung was considered to be an interloper and an intruder by the Turkish families having a long history of Mughul service. Intizamuddaulah the son of the late Wazir Qamaruddin Khan considered that Safdar Jang had robbed him of his patrimony, the office of the Wazir of the Empire. Besides this personal interest, the two rivals, Safdar Jung and Intizamuddaulah, belonged to different racial stock. Safdar Jang was a Persian while Intizamuddaulah and other aspirants to the post of the Prime Minister were Turks of Turan (Central Asia). The Iranians and the Turanians have a long history of antagonism and enmity in India and outside. Again, while Safdar Jang was a Shi'ah the Turanians were Sunnis. In short, there were racial, cultural and personal clashes between the two parties.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Sir Jadunath Sarkar *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Volume I, chapter VIII. Dr. A. L. Srivastava *The first two Nawabs of Awadh*.



Thus very soon after the accession of Ahmad Shah to the throne of Delhi two well-knit political parties grew up in the Delhi Court—the Turanian party and the Iranian party—both of which were at daggers drawn with each other. The position of Safdar Jang became difficult and unenviable soon after his appointment as *Wazir* due to this party-politics at the court.

### Problems before the Nawab-Wazir:

The Rohilas with their seat at Bareilly and the Bangash Nawab of Farrukhabad turned against the *Wazir* practically at the same time when he was facing his enemies at the court. The Pathans in India, according to Dr. A. H. Sriwastava, “were in treacherous alliance with the Abdali invader.”<sup>1</sup> Ahmad Khan Bangash suddenly attacked Safdar Jang’s camp near Farrukhabad on 13th August, 1750, when the *Wazir* was busy in the imperial capital. The *Wazir*’s general and commander Raja Nawal Rai, was killed and his camp plundered. The *Nawab-Wazir* could not tolerate the existence and dangerously evil activities of an ambitious power on his western boundary. He sent for Jat and Maratha help and himself started immediately to punish Pathans.

Before the requested Jat and Maratha help could arrive, Safdar Jang was defeated on 24th September, 1750 by the Rohilla and the Bangash allies at the battle field of Ram Chitauni, 5 miles from Kasganj in Etah district. Ahmad Khān Bangash and Hāfiz Rahmat Khān Rohilla ran over the *Wazir*’s territory upto Lucknow and laid seige to Allahabad. Ahmad Khān’s son Mahmūd Khān ravaged the whole of Awadh and perpetrated cruelties at Bilgrām, Shahabad and Khairabad.<sup>2</sup> The Pathans also took possession of Jaunpur and Ghazipur.<sup>3</sup> The *wazir* lost all prestige at the Court.

Since his defeat at Ram Chitauni the *Wazir* was desirous of wiping off the disgrace. He felt so much dishonoured and humiliated that in shame he did not come out of closet for many days.

Bal Ram Jat of Ballamgarh was another chieftain who created troubles in the area around Ballamgarh and defied the authority of the Emperor. The *Wazir* had to devote his attention towards this recalcitrant chieftain also.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. A. L. Srivastava: *the First two Nawabs of Awadh*, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Wolsely Haig: *Cambridge History of India*, Vol IV, p. 430.

<sup>3</sup> G. S. Sardesai: *New Hiseory of the Mararhos*, Voi II, p. 361.

Above all, Jawid Khan, the real power behind the throne in those days, was favouring the Turani party at the court. By engineering a clever plot, this eunuch got Ghaziuddin appointed to the post of the *Mir Bakhshi* and Intizamuddaulah to the post of the governor of Ajmer. These were the two highest offices in the Empire after that of the *Wazir*. The two Turani noblemen acted to checkmate the authority and power of Safdar Jang whose prestige had been greatly shattered by his recent defeat.

### The Wazir invites the Maratha help

It was in time of such a danger and crisis that on the advice of his wife Sadrunnisa Begum and other friends Safdar Jang decided to call the Marathas to his help. He wrote to the Peshwa in the following way, "This is the time for testing our alliance."

He requested Malhar Rao Holkar and Jayappa Sindhia repeatedly to come quickly to his aid. He even sent his Diwan Raja Ram Narain and agent Jugul Kishore to receive them so far as Kotah in Rajputana and bring them to him. Safdar Jang, as Dr. A. L. Srivastava rightly comments, "had to make his choice between two evils—a foreign invader assisted by enemies at home and selfish hereditary rebel whose attitude for some years past had been distinctly loyal and who had been his own friends since 1747"<sup>2</sup>. The *Wazir* chose the second alternative, a choice which was definitely far better of the two. He purchased Maratha alliance for a daily allowance of Rs. 25,000 in March 1751. Along with the above Maratha help, Safdar Jang also engaged the aid of Raja Suraj Mal Jat on a payment of Rs. 15,000 per day.

### The Pathans crushed: Maratha appetite whetted

The sequel of the above mentioned *Wazir*-Maratha-Jat alliance was that the Marathas and the Jats entered the Doab and defeated the Rohillas and the Bangash Nawab in a number of engagements. First of all they attacked Aligarh and Jalesar. In April, 1751, a bloody battle was fought in which the Pathans were crushingly defeated at Fatehgarh and 10,000 of them were cut down. Safdar Jang devastated the Bangash territory. Both the Marathas and the Jats helped the *Nawab-Wazir* in this battle.

When peace was made in June, 1751, the Marathas secured the lion's share of the gains and spoils of war. They acquired half of the Bangash

<sup>1</sup> Sir Jadunath Sarkar: *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol I, p. 358.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. A. L. Srivastava: *The First two Nawabs of Awadh*, p. 177.

territory as indemnity for war and realised the agreed daily allowance of Rs. 25,000 from Safdar Jang. They also extracted Rs. 50,00,000 from the Bangash Nawabs for "saving them from complete ruin." This half of the Bangash territory" was the first territorial acquisition of the Marathas beyond the Yamuna.<sup>1</sup>

Along with these momentary and territorial gains, the Marathas gained considerably in prestige. The success of the *Wazir* with the Maratha help opened a new chapter in the history of Northern India. The Maratha share in this warfare had established the fact beyond doubt that they were the only power with whose help and co-operation peace in the north could be maintained on the point of bayonet. Not a bird could flutter its wings without their consent and no change in the political firmament could take place without Maratha assistance. At the same time their ambitions became more lofty than before and they began to dream of dominating over the Mughul Empire. Their appetite was greatly whetted and it did not know any satisfaction.

#### The Abdali invasion:

The Pathans of India secured a very capable leader named Najibud-daulah, when the Abdali repeated his invasion on India. Najibuddulah had invited Ahmad Shah Abdali when the Pathans had been surrounded on all sides (by the *Wazir*, the Marathas and the Jats) in April, 1751. The Abdali accepted this invitation and started for his third expedition to India in December, 1751, and appeared in the Punjab. Safdar Jang was still busy in punishing the Bangash Afghans and Raja Balwant Singh of Banaras.

Emperor Ahmad Shah was alarmed at the progress of the Abdali and his successes in the Punjab. He sent urgent messages to the *Nawab-Wazir* Safdar Jang, to reach Delhi with all haste and to check the invader. But the *Wazir* delayed his departure intentionally, because he wanted that Mu'inul Mulk, his rival and governor of the Punjab, should be completely crippled by the Abdali.

Mu'inul Mulk requested for help from Delhi, but received none. Consequently, he lost all confidence in his army. Lahore fell on 15th March, 1752, and the news reached Delhi on 23rd March. The same was the fate of Multan. Consternation and terror spread all over northern India, specially so in and around Delhi. People began to run away for their lives and flee from Delhi to Central India and the interior of the

<sup>1</sup> H. G. Rawlinson; *Cambridge History of India*, Volume IV, p. 415,

Doab Business was practically at a stand still for some days and the supply of food and fodder to Delhi was stopped.

Maratha help purchased by the Wazir

Emperor Ahmad Shāh became desperate under these circumstances. He sent urgent summons to Sāfdar Jang who was staying at Lucknow, and an angry letter in his own handwriting, written on 23rd March, 1752, implored him to reach Delhi without loss of time along with "a powerful Maratha force at any price", and face the danger from the Abdālī. The Wazir, received the letter on 27th March and, on its receipt he pitched up a truce with Raja Balwant Singh of Bikaner.

Doubly convinced that the Maratha help was most essential, Sāfdar Jang sent fast messengers to stop the Maratha army which was then on its way home. The Nawab-Wazir, himself started towards Delhi on 3rd April 1752, and met the Maratha chiefs, Malhar Rao Holkar and Jayappa Sindhia near Qanauj. Here the Emperor of India and the Peshwa, represented by their chiefs Sāfdar Jang on the one side and Malhar Rao Holkar and Jayappa Sindhia on the other, entered into a formal defensive alliance on April 12, 1752, whereby the Marathas undertook to protect and save the Mughul Empire both from internal rebellions and dangers and from external invasions and attacks. In exchange for the Maratha promise for armed assistance, the Emperor also agreed to give some money and the privilege to collect *Chauth* as well as some *Jagir* to the Peshwa<sup>2</sup>.

The Terms of the Treaty

1. The Peshwa agreed to defend and protect the dividing Mughul Empire of all of its enemies, both external and internal. Among the external enemies of the Empire at that time the most important was the Abdālī, and among the internal enemies the prominent ones were the Rajputs, the Pathans and other rebels. As a result of this treaty, the Marathas were to recover all territories in the possession of these external and internal enemies and, after the reconquest these territories were to be restored to the Emperor. In order to defend the Empire the Marathas had to maintain a strong permanent army.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. A. L. Srivastava *The First Two Nawabs of Awadh* p. 193

<sup>2</sup> V. K. Rajwade

G. S. Sardesai

2. In return for the above-mentioned support and protection the Mughul Emperor agreed to pay to the Peshwa a sum of Rs. 50,00,000. Of this sum Rs. 30 *lakhs* was the honorarium for helping the Mughuls against foreign enemyas *i.e.*, Shah Abdali and Rs. 20 *lakhs* for suppressing internal rebels and maintaining peace and order and Mughul supremacy within the country.

3. The Emperor granted to the Peshwa the right to collect the *chaauth* ( $\frac{1}{4}$  of the usual imperial revenue) from the two provinces of the Punjab and Sind which had already been ceded to the Abdali. The idea seems to be that the Marathas were entitled to *chaauth* only after their capture of the Punjab or Sind from the Abdali's hands. The Peshwa was also given the right to collect *chaauth* from four districts of the Dab. Another quarter of the revenue from these districts was to be paid to Safdar Jang and Jawid Khan from which these two officers were to maintain and pay the salaries of the soldiers in their contingents. Only half of land revenue of the four districts was to go to the Emperor.

4. The Peshwa was to be appointed *subehdar* or governor of Agra, including the *faujdari* of Mathura, and the governor of Ajmer, including the *faujdari* of Narnaul. These two provinces and two *sarkars* were to be administered in the usual Mughul way. The Peshwa was to enjoy all remunerations and privileges which were assigned to these two governorships.

5. The Peshwa had to administer his *jagirs* according to the age-long practices and regulations of Mughul administration and like an ordinary vassal of the Emperor. He or his agents were not to interfere in the administration of the directly-governed forts and strategic places in these governorships. He had to observe all regulations and decorum of the Mughul administration.

6. On behalf of the Peshwa, who could not go to the Mughal court due to distance and preoccupations some Maratha generals had to attend the Delhi court in his place. These generals were required to obey the orders of Emperor, just like all *mansabdas*. They had to join the Mughul on march along with their contingents.

In order to save the face of the Emperor it was decided that the Peshwa should submit a petition to the Emperor to the above effect and that the latter grant the request of the Maratha chief. The Peshwa called upon God and other Hindu deities like the sun, the *Vedas*, Bel

Bhandar, Tulsī and the river Ganges to attest to the fidelity of his words and promise<sup>1</sup> Sīfder Jang accepted the petition on behalf of Emperor Ahmad Shah and the treaty was thus entered into by both parties on April, 12, 1752

### Developments at Delhi : The Abdālī bribed by the Emperor

Meanwhile, the agent of the Abdālī, Qalandar Khan, reached Delhi on April 11, 1752, and demanded of Emperor Ahmad Shah that the Punjab and Multan, which had already been conquered by Ahmad Shah Abdālī be formally handed over to the Afghan conqueror. The anti-Wazīr Turānī party at Delhi was anxious to come to some settlement with the invader before the arrival of Sīfder Jang along with the Marathā help, for they were afraid as well as jealous of his influence and power. Hence on April 23, 1752, Jawid Khan introduced Qalandar Khan to Emperor Ahmad Shah and recommended to the latter an early settlement of the dispute and the conclusion of a treaty satisfactory to the Abdālī. The weak Emperor was taken in and he formally ceded the Punjab and Multan to Ahmad Shah Abdālī<sup>2</sup>. The Afghan invader appointed Mu'timul Mulk, the ex-governor of the Punjab, as his governor and viceroy of his Indian acquisitions.

### Sīfder Jang embarrassed : The Marathā clamour for money

Accompanied by the 50,000 Marathā soldiers, Sīfder Jang reached Delhi on May 5, 1752, but he was 12 days too late. The Wazīr had expected to drive the Abdālī out of the Punjab and Multan with the Marathā help. His idea was to leave the Marathās in charge of the north-western frontier of the Mughul Empire and thus safeguard the country as well as the Emperor on his throne. He wanted the Marathā help to serve three purposes—(i) to drive the Abdālī out of the country, (ii) to relieve the Emperor of a constant headache for defending the frontiers of the country on the north-west and (iii) to extend the boundary of the Mughul Empire in the north-west so as to include in it Kabul and Afghanistan with the aid of these new allies.

But all his expectations were dashed to the ground when he found on reaching the capital that in his absence the Emperor had already ratified

<sup>1</sup> G. S. Sardesai *Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar*, vol. 21 letters no. 53, p. 58.

G. S. Sardesai

<sup>2</sup> Sir Wolsey Haig *Cambridge History of India* vol. IV, p. 431.

a treaty with the Abdali satisfactory to the invader. Jawid Khan's agreement with Ahmed Abdali made the Maratha--Mughul treaty of April 12 a scrap of paper. The *Nawab-Wazir's* scheme was annulled, as it were, and he felt greatly frustrated and disgusted with the shape the matters had taken.

When the Marathas learnt of these developments at the court, they became furious and clamoured for the money promised to them by Safdar Jang. They began to plunder and ravage the countryside as far distant as 40 miles around Delhi. Fortunately for the *Wazir* Peshwa Balaji Baji Rao was in difficulties in the South at this time, as he had been defeated by Salabat Jang at Talegaon Dhamdhera near Poona and the struggle between the Peshwa and Salabat Jang, the Viceroy of the Deccan, continued from December 1751 to April 1752.<sup>1</sup> Malhar Rao Holkar wanted to go to the south to the help of the Peshwa. The recent developments at Delhi aided him in this project. The cunning Ghaziuddin Khan, son of Nizam-ul-mulk and brother of Salabat Jang, offered the Emperor a solution (requesting the Marathas to go to south and help him in securing the viceroyalty of the south as he was now entitled Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah. He was later poisoned by his step-mother on October 16, 1752). The Emperor also got rid of the 50,000 Marathas who were a nuisance when there was no war to be fought. With demand reduced to Rs. 30,00,000, the Marathas left for the south.

The Marathas come permanently to the north

The Mughul-Maratha treaty of April 12, 1752, brought the Marathas permanently into the north-Indian politics and from that time they became not only important but also indispensable there. Though they had to return to the Deccan very soon after the treaty was concluded they had become a permanent power and an influential interest to be reckoned with in the settlement of affairs in the north.

The relations between the Emperor and the *Wazir* did not improve once they had taken a bad turn; they continued worsening and each was anxious to get the better of the other. The *Wazir* held Jawid Khan, the Khoja eunuch, responsible for his disgrace at the court. He invited Jawid Khan to a dinner on August 27, 1752, and had him killed at the banquet, thus setting aside his greatest enemy at court.<sup>2</sup> But the death

<sup>1</sup> Sir Jadunath Sarkar: *Cambridge History of India*, volume IV, p. 387-8.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Jadunath Sarkar: *Fall of the Mughul Empire*, volume I, pp. 272-3

of Jawid did not improve the relations between the Emperor Ahmad Shah and Safdar Jang.

Meanwhile, the news of the proposed invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali on the Punjab arrived in Delhi in November 1752. On 5th February, 1753, an Afghan envoy arrived in the Mughul Court in Delhi and demanded the tribute of Rs 50,00,000 due to his master, the Abdali. The Mughul noblemen who were opposed to Safdar Jang taunted the *Nanab-Wazir* "The Marathas have undertaken to fight the Abdali. Ask them what should be done now." The *Wazir* sent urgent calls to the Peshwa for armed help, but was driven to rebel against the Emperor on March 26, 1753, before any news could arrive from the Peshwa.

### Both Emperor and Wazir court Maratha help

Before his open rebellion, the *Wazir*, as well as the Emperor appealed to the Marathas for help. The Peshwa received agents from both of them and both made a bid for the Maratha arms. Antaji Manjeshwar was in charge of a small Maratha force stationed at Delhi and the Hingana brothers were the Maratha envoys at the Mughul capital. Feelers and agents were sent to both of these Maratha officers by the Emperor as well as by the rebel *Wazir*.

The Peshwa agreed to support the Emperor (Imad-ul-Mulk, representing him) against the rebel *Wazir*, and placed at his disposal 5,000 Maratha soldiers on the condition that Awadh and Allahabad, which belonged to the *ex-Wazir*, be given to the Marathas for this help. Thus Bajji Baji Rao helped the Emperor against the *Wazir* and cut at the roots of his former ally—he struck a blow at the very tree on which he stood. He did not remember even for a moment that Safdar Jang was primarily instrumental in giving the Marathas an access in the north Indian politics. He rejected the *Wazir's* offer of a big *Jagir* yielding a revenue of Rs 15,00,000 a year.

This was only the beginning of Maratha influence in the north Indian affairs. They had realised that the Mughul Empire was standing on its last legs and it could not be held together for long without their help. Safdar

<sup>1</sup> G S Sardesai *Selections from the Peshwa's دفتر*, volume XI, letters Nos 43-54 and 55.

<sup>2</sup> G S Sardesai *Authentic History of Marathas*, p. 80.



Jang Shah who had been loyal to his master so far, turned against Emperor Ahmad mainly because the latter had become a tool in the hands of Ghaziuddin and Intizamuddulah. The rivalry among the different members of the Turani Sunni party was no less acute. The Marathas had realized that there were divisions in it long before the rebellion of Safdar Jang.<sup>1</sup>

#### The Marathas 'sit on the fence'.

During this Civil War between the Turani and the Irani Parties in which Emperor Ahmad Shah was made a tool by the former party, the policy of the Marathas in the North had been "to sit upon the fence, watch for the end of the civil war and then join the victor or take advantage of the exhaustion of both sides, so as to increase Maratha domination in the North".<sup>2</sup>

Exhausted and weakened, the two sides ceased warfare on November 7, 1753. The Maratha contingent consisting of 4,000 soldiers, under the command of Malhar Rao's son Khande Rao Holkar arrived in Delhi on 21st November, that is, two weeks after the peace was restored and the two parties reconciled. Safdar Jang was pardoned and Awadh and Allahabad returned to him, thus nullifying the Emperor's promise for these two provinces made to the Marathas.

#### The Marathas involved in North Indian politics

The necessity of the Maratha armies in the North was nullified soon after an agreement was made to that effect between the Marathas and Imādulmaulk, as the Civil War came to an end 14 days before the Maratha armies arrived in Delhi. Now that they were no more required in Delhi, the Maratha commanders sought other quarters for war and plunder. Delhi and its environs attracted them, but Imad-ul-mulk diverted their attention towards the Kingdom of Raja Suraj Mal Jat of Bharatpur. Soon after this we find Khande Rao Holkar plundering the Jat villages near Palwal. He started his war against Suraj Mal in January, 1754, but was killed by a chance bullet. Some time after the march of Khande Rao, Jayappa Sindhia also invaded Marwar. He was killed at Nagaur in 1755.

The treaty of April 12, 1752, had granted the Marathas the provinces of Agra and Ajmer. The ambitious Maratha chiefs attempted to establish their way in these provinces even after the above-mentioned treaty was

<sup>1</sup> G.S. Sardesai: *Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar*, Volume XXI, letter No. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Jadunath Sarkar: *Fall of the Mughul Empire*, vol. I, p. 515.

reduced to a scrap of paper. The Province of Agra became a bone of contention between Khande Rao Holkar and Raja Suraj Mal Jat of Bharatpur, as it lay so near Bharatpur and Mathura and was considered by Suraj Mal to be in his field of activity. The province of Ajmer became an apple of discord between the Raja of Marwar and Jayappa Sindhia. The Mughul-Maratha treaty of 1752, therefore, was mainly responsible for Maratha entanglements with the Jats and the Rajputs.

Malhar Rao Holkar allied with the new *Wazir* Imadul mulk. The climax of this alliance was the dethronement of Emperor Ahmad Shah. Malhar Rao made a surprise visit to Delhi in May, 1754, along with his 20,000 cavalry, captured Ahmad Shah at Sheorajpur near Sikandra and threw him into the dungeon. The Maratha hold over Delhi was complete and even Imadul mulk felt ashamed for his disloyal acts and for bringing disgrace upon the Mughul royal family. Thus by 1756 the Marathas had become supreme in the whole of India.

The Mughul-Maratha Treaty of April, 1752 thus brought the Marathas to the north India and thus gave rise to many new problems and complications in the Indian politics, Rajput-Maratha conflict in Rajasthan, the Jat-Maratha conflict in Central India and Afghan-Maratha conflict in the Panjab. The ever increasing ambitions of the Marathas and their plundering raids in Central India and Rajputana were mainly responsible for Sadashiva Rao Bhonsle's tragic failure in the game of diplomacy and beating for allies on the eve of the third battle of Panipat.<sup>1</sup> The Rajput resentment against the Maratha actions in Rajputana were too fresh for them to go to the aid of Bhau Sahib, the Jats kept aloof because their homes had been ravaged by them. Thus the treaty which was the main source of bringing Maratha influence to the north became eventually responsible for their defeat at the hands of a foreign invader in 1761.

<sup>1</sup> G. S. Sardesai, *Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar*, vol. XXI, Letter No. 60 and Sir Wolseley Haig, *Cambridge History of India*, volume IV, p. 436.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. A. L. Srivastava, *Afghan-Maratha Diplomatic Tussle on the Eve of Panipat* in Sardesai Commemoration, Vol. 1938.

## سید محمد قاسم عبرت

دور مغلیہ میں اکثر باکمال خاندان ترک وطن کر کے خراسان اور ایران سے ہندوستان آباد ہوتے تھے۔ مغلیہ ہندوستان کے اکثر شہروں میں اس نوع کے متعدد خانوادے اقامت گزین تھے۔ اور انکی علمی و ادبی سرگرمیاں قابل داد تھیں۔ اسی نوع کا ایک خانوادہ عالمگیر کے دور حکومت کے آخری برسوں میں لاہور آباد نظر آتا ہے۔ جس کے ایک فرزند سید قاسم کے حالات پہ یہاں روشنی ڈالی جا رہی ہے۔

ماخذ حالات :- سید قاسم کے حالات کا ایک ماخذ توانکی تالیف عبرت نامہ ہے۔ جو اگرچہ ابھی تک حلقہ طبع سے بیراستہ نہیں ہوئی۔ لیکن اسکے متعدد خطی نسخے ملتے ہیں۔ پنجاب یونیورسٹی لائبریری<sup>1</sup> اور پنجاب پبلک لائبریری لاہور میں بھی اسکے نسخے موجود ہیں۔ عبرت نامہ سے سید محمد قاسم کے جو حالات ملتے ہیں۔ انہیں ریو<sup>2</sup> اور الیٹ<sup>3</sup> بیان کر چکے ہیں۔

علاوہ اسکے خوش قسمتی سے سید قاسم کی اپنی بیاض پنجاب یونیورسٹی لائبریری کے مجموعہ شیرانی میں موجود ہے۔ جس سے اسکے حالات زندگی پر خاص روشنی پڑتی ہے۔

خاندان :- سید محمد قاسم ایک مقتدر سید خاندان کا فرزند تھا۔ اور اس کا خانوادہ لاہور میں اقامت گزین تھا۔ اسکے بزرگوں کے متعلق بیاض سے اس قدر معلوم ہوتا ہے۔ کہ اسکے ماموں شاہ عتیق اللہ ایک فاضل بزرگ تھے۔ اور ان کا شمار لاہور کے ارباب باطن میں تھا۔ قاسم ان کا شاگرد اور ”پسر خواندہ“ بھی تھا۔ شاہ صاحب درس و تدریس کا کام بھی کرتے تھے۔ اور شہر کے اکثر ہندو مسلمان اکابر انکے سامنے زانوئے تلمذتہ کر چکے تھے۔ اور اہالیان شہر ان کا دل و جان سے ادب کرنے تھے۔ یہ صاحب ”اندرون شاہ عالمی دروازہ قلعہ شہر پناہ“، محلہ

<sup>1</sup> Dr. S. M. Abdullah's catalogue, P. 97.

<sup>2</sup> Pien's Catalogue of B. M. Vol. III, P. 939

<sup>3</sup> History of India Elliot and Doweon, Vol. VII, P. 569—73.

سید نظام بخاری میں رہتے تھے۔ اور وہ محلہ اس وقت محلہ بیربان کہلاتا تھا۔ اور، حویلیہائے دیوان لکھپت رائے، متصل واقع تھا۔ اس محلہ میں ایک مسجد بھی جس میں شاہ عتیق اللہ کا مدرسہ تھا اور اس میں وہ اپنے ہندو مسلمان شاگردوں کو پڑھایا کرتے تھے۔ یہ مسجد بہت پرانی تھی۔ بعد ازاں جب بالکل بوسیدہ ہو گئی۔ تو شاہ صاحب کے ایک ہندو شاگرد سحوشحال رائے نے اسے ۱۱۳۹ھ (۱۷۲۶ء) میں ازسرنو سوادیا۔

آج شاہ عالمی دروازہ کے اندر محلہ بیربان ”اور حویلیہائے دیوان لکھپت رائے اور شاہ عتیق اللہ کے مدرسے اور مسجد تک کا نشان بھی ڈھونڈنے سے نہیں ملتا۔

رن، چوں چرخ نیلگون کرد آن مکانہ را نگون  
دیار کے گردو کنوں گرد دیارِ یار من

ابتدائی زندگی :- معلوم ہوتا ہے۔ سید قاسم کی ابتدائی زندگی لاہور میں گری اور اس نے اپنے بزرگ شاہ عتیق اللہ کے دامن شفقت میں تعلیم و تربیت حاصل کی۔ شاہ صاحب کے شاگرد اعلیٰ عہدوں پر ممتاز تھے۔ اور معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ ان میں سے کسی کی سعی سے سید قاسم کو بھی سرکاری ملازمت مل گئی۔ اور اس سلسلے میں وہ ۱۱۳۰ھ (۱۷۱۸ء) میں عازم دہلی ہوا۔ دوران ملازمت میں اسے مختلف دیاروں اصبار میں جانے کا موقع ملا۔

سید محمد قاسم ۱۱۳۵ھ میں آگرہ میں اقامت گزین تھا۔ جہاں اس نے عرب نامہ تالیف کیا اس وقت وہ سید حسین علی کا دیوان تھا۔ سید عبداللہ اور سید حسین علی دونوں سادات نارہہ میں سے تھے۔ اور تاریخ کے طلبہ سے ان کا تعارف ”نادر شاہ گر سید برادران“ کی حیثیت سے ہے۔ غالباً سادات نارہہ کے زوال کے بعد سید محمد قاسم لاہور چلا آیا۔ یہاں بھی وہ سلک ملازمان حکومت میں مسلک رہا۔ بیاض میں وہ اپنے نام کے ساتھ ”مشی سرکار“

کے الفاظ استعمال کرتا ہے۔ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ میر معین الملک کے زمانہ ۱۷۴۸ء تا ۱۷۵۳ء میں وہ ان کا خاص میرمنشی مقرر ہو گیا تھا۔

آج کل کی اصلاح میں اسے چیف سیکریٹری صوبائی حکومت سمجھنا چاہئے۔ ملازمت کے سلسلے میں وہ اس دور میں لاہور کے علاوہ ہیبت پورٹی گجرات - سیالکوٹ وغیرہ میں جاتا رہا۔

نہ ہمیں سید محمد قاسم کی تاریخ ولادت اور نہ تاریخ وفات معلوم ہے۔ اسکی بیاض سے اتنا معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ وہ ۱۷۵۷ء تک زندہ تھا۔ اور اس وقت وہ پیرانہ سالی کے عالم میں تھا۔ چنانچہ ۱۷۵۷ء سے سات آٹھ سال قبل بمقام سیالکوٹ ایک جشن کے موقع پر نواب میر معین الملک سے ایک قصیدہ میں یوں خطاب کرتا ہے۔

صاحباً۔ دولت حق داد مبارک باشد  
مرحمت از شہ بغداد مبارک باشد  
اے جوان بخت و جوان دولت و عالی ہمت  
فال این پیر دعا یاد مبارک باشد

دوسرے شعر سے ظاہر ہوتا ہے۔ کہ نواب معین الملک کا زمانہ محمد قاسم کا پیرانہ سالی کا دور تھا۔

بیاض سے معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ اسکے ایک فرزند کا نام میر محمد ہاشم تھا۔ خیال ہے کہ لاہور کے سیدوں میں کوئی نہ کوئی خاندان ضرور اسکے اخلاف میں سے ہوگا۔

قیاس ہے کہ سید محمد قاسم لاہور ہی میں فوت ہوا اور یہیں اسکا مرقد بنا۔ لیکن ہمیں معلوم نہیں ہوسکا کہ اسکی قبر کہاں ہے۔

بعد از وفات تربت مابر زمین معجو  
در سینہ ہائے مردم عارف مزار ماست

- سید قاسم کا مذہب :- سید محمد قاسم کے ماموں سید شاہ عتیق اللہ ایک صوفی سنس بزرگ تھے۔ خود اس کا میلان طبع درویشی کی طرف تھا۔ چنانچہ وہ اپنا نام کئی جگہ یوں لکھتا ہے۔ ”فقیر سید قاسم منشی“ نواب میر معین الملک بہادر،

اسکی بیاض میں جا بجا حضرت امیر المومنین علی مرتضیٰ کی تعریف میں قصائد ملتے ہیں۔ جو اس نے مختلف شعراء کے دوا وین سے بصد محنت و کوشش جمع کئے ہوئے ان میں ایک قصیدہ حضرت ابوالمعالی قادری کے ہوتے شاہ افضل کی تصنیف ہے۔ اس کا مطلع یہ ہے۔

گر نبودی تاج سم اللہ ہائے بو راب  
کچ کلاہی ہا نکردی بر سر ام الکتاب

یہ شاہ افضل قاسم کے ہم عصر ہی ہوئے۔

ایک اردو قصیدہ اسی نوع کا کہ آج سے دو سو برس قبل کی زبان کا نمونہ پیش کرنا ہے۔ قابل غور ہے۔ اس کا آغاز یوں ہوتا ہے۔

لبریز جس کا سینا از شوق حیدری ہے  
مکھ۔ اس کا روز محشر خورشید انوری ہے

حب علی کے اس اظہار کے با وصف ہم انہیں شیعہ قرار دے سکتے تھے۔ لیکن بیاض میں ایک جگہ وہ درود شریف تحریر کر کے اس کا عنوان یوں لکھتا ہے۔ ”درود سعادت آمود انا عشریہ“، اس سے ہم نتیجہ نکل سکتے ہیں کہ مذہباً وہ شیعہ تھا۔

اورنگ زیب کی وفات سے لیکر لاہور پر رنجیت سنگ کے قبضے تک پنجاب کی ایک سو سالہ تاریخ پردہ خفا میں مستور ہے۔ ہمیں اس دور کے حالات کی تحقیق کیلئے بے شمار مشکلوں کا سامنا کرنا پڑتا ہے۔

اس کا سبب یہ ہے کہ سنہ ۱۷۶۷ء میں میر معین الملک کی اچانک موت کے بعد پنجاب مختلف متحارب طاقتوں کا اکھاڑہ بن گیا۔

اور ہر طرف کشت و خون کا بازار گرم ہو گیا۔ اس افراتفری میں شہروں کی اینٹ سے اینٹ بچ گئی۔

رند کیا اٹھہ کے گئے لٹ گئے میخانے بھی  
ختم گئے جام گئے اور گئے پیمانے بھی

کشت خون لوٹ کھسوٹ اور طوائف الملوکی کا یہ سلسلہ تقریباً نصف صدی تک جاری رہا۔ اور اس دوران میں پنجاب کے تمام کتب خانے اور تاریخی ریکارڈ برباد ہو گئے اور آج یہ عالم ہے۔ کہ اس دور کی تاریخ کا خاکہ تیار کرنا مشکل معلوم ہوتا ہے۔

ان حالات میں جو قدیم اور ہم عصر تحریریں اٹھارویں صدی عیسوی کے پنجاب کی تاریخ مدون کرنے میں ہماری دستگیری کرتی ہیں۔ ان میں سید محمد قاسم کی کتاب عبرت نامہ اور ان کی بیاض کو میں بہت اہمیت دیتا ہوں۔ عبرت نامہ میں اورنگ زیب کی وفات سے لیکر محمد شاہ کی تخت نشینی تک کے واقعات ہیں۔ اور مولف نے پنجاب میں رونما ہونے والے واقعات کو نظر انداز نہیں کیا۔

بیاض کو اگر ہم مخزن معلومات کہیں تو بے جا نہ ہوگا۔ یہ بیاض موجودہ زمانے کی انگریزی شارٹ ہینڈ کی کاپیوں یا مہاجنوں کے حساب کتاب کی بہیوں کی طرح ہے۔ اسکی لمبائی ۱۰۶۸ انچ اور چوڑائی ۶۷ انچ ہے۔ یہ بیاض نا مکمل ہے اور اس کے موجودہ اوراق بھی پراگندہ حالت میں ہیں۔ کاغذ کافی بوسیدہ ہو چکا ہے۔ اور بعض صفحات پر زہرین اور بالائی حصہ بھی ضائع ہو گیا ہے۔ یہ بیاض خط نستعلیق میں مرقوم ہے مگر راقم نے جا بجا خط شکستہ آمیز کا استعمال کیا ہے۔ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ اس کا خط زیادہ پیختہ نہیں ہے۔

پرانے زمانے میں دستور تھا۔ کہ اہل علم ایک کاپی جسے بیاض کا نام دیا جاتا تھا۔ اس امر کے لئے وقف کر لیتے تھے کہ اس میں ہر زیر مطالعہ آنے والی کتاب کے اقتباسات اور اپنی یادداشتیں اور واقعات پر اپنی آراء کو لکھتے رہیں ایک عالم کی بیاض اپنے دامن میں اسکی تمام

عمر کے مطالعہ کا تجوُّز لئے موئے الحوقی ہوئی۔ اور ارباب سیاست کی بیاضیں بعض ایسی اہم تاریخی معلومات کی حامل ہوتی تھیں۔ جس کا کہہیں اور سراغ نہ مل سکتا ہو۔ سید محمد قاسم نے اپنی بیاض میں اس دور کے دستور کے مطابق نامی گراتی منشیوں کے مرقومہ خطوں۔ مناجاوں۔ وظیفوں۔ ادویہ کے نسخوں اور قدیم اور ہم عصر شعرا کے کلام کے علاوہ اپنے زمانے کے اکثر اہم واقعات کی تاریخیں قلم بند کی ہیں۔

ان تاریخیوں اور بعض دیگر تحریروں سے اس دور کی تاریخ پر اے حد روشنی پڑتی ہے۔ ان پر گبدہ اور بوسیدہ اور اوی سے میں نے بعض ایسی اہم تاریخی معلومات حاصل کی ہیں جو پہلے پردہ خفا میں تھیں۔

مثلاً ہمیں نواب عبدالصمد خان دلیر جنگ (ناظم لاہور سنہ ۱۲۰۳ھ تا ۱۲۰۶ھ) اور ناظم ملتان (سنہ ۱۲۰۶ھ تا ۱۲۰۷ھ) کے وفات سنہ ۱۲۰۵ھ بمطابق امیرا منتخب، اللباب، خوانی، خان وغیرہ سے معلوم ہو جاتا تھا۔ لیکن اسکی تاریخ وفات ۹ ربیع الثانی کا، علیٰ ہمیں میر قاسم کی اس بوسیدہ بیاض ہی سے ہو تا ہے۔ اس بیاض میں علاوہ اس کے۔ نواب زکریا خان۔ نواب معین الملک خان مولوی عبداللہ عرف کفایت خان۔ میر نعمت خان۔ وغیرہ عتاید و اکابر کی وفات کی تاریخیں بھی ملتی ہیں۔

مزید برآں وہ تمام قصائد اس میں موجود ہیں جو سید محمد قاسم نواب معین الملک اور دیگر اکابر کی مدح میں مختلف تقریروں پر لکھتا رہا۔ مختصر یہ کہ سید محمد قاسم کی بیاض اٹھارویں صدی عیسوی کے پنجاب کی سیاسی اور تمدنی تاریخ کا ایک اہم ماخذ ہے۔ اور اس کے آئینہ میں ہم اس دور کے خد و خال کو بخوبی دیکھ سکتے ہیں مقالہ ختم کرنے سے قبل میں وہ قطعہ تاریخ سنا دیا جاتا ہوں جو سید محمد قاسم نے پنجاب کے آخری مغلی ناظم میر معین الملک خان عرف میرمنو کی وفات پر قلم بند کیا۔

آہ افسوس و حسرت و ہیہات ۔ زلزلہ درمیان ستہ نصہات



کوچ کردہ زمَنزل دنیا      آن میری سخی فرشتہ صفات  
 حامی دین معین ملک کرم      مائی بدع مصدر حسنات  
 نام نا میش میرزا منو      منت ازوی بگردن هر ذات  
 حیف از صورت و جوانی، او      حیف از خلق آن خجستہ صِنات  
 اقتدار دول سپہ سالار      حافظ خلق دافع آفات  
 یافتہ بہرہ از طلب هر کس      نوکرو خانہ زاد و مستورات  
 فاتحہ از برائے بخشش او      بہر عمر پسر بسے دعوات  
 اے خداوند ذو الجلال جہاں      بر فزا در ترقی، درجات  
 سردل خاک کردو ہاتف گفت      رضی اللہ مند سال وفات

۶ محرم سنہ ۱۱۶۷ھ مطابق ۲ نومبر سنہ ۱۷۷۳ء بروز ہفتہ نواب  
 معین الملک فوت ہوا۔ اور اس کا شیر خوار بیچہ محمد امین جسکے متعلق  
 میر قاسم کہتا ہے کہ :-

ع      بہر عمر پسر بسے دعوات

اپنی والدہ مغلانی بیگم کی سر پرستی میں پنجاب کا ناظم بنا۔ یہ مغلانی  
 بیگم بڑی قابل عورت تھی اور نواب عبدالصمد خان کی لڑکی دردانہ بیگم  
 کی بیٹی تھی۔ اس کا باپ نواب جانی خان عماید سلطنت میں سے تھا۔ اور  
 صوبہ لاہور کی حکومت میں کسی اہم عہدہ پر ممتاز تھا۔ محمد امین  
 مئی سنہ ۱۷۷۳ء میں فوت ہو گیا۔

اس کے بعد پنجاب میں طوائف الملوکی اور ہر چہا گردی شروع  
 ہو گئی۔ اور کچھ عرصہ بعد بقول اقبال -

خالصہ شمشیر و قرآن را بیرو      اندرین کشور مسلمانان بمرد



SECTION III  
GENERAL

**PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS DELIVERED BY PROF. DILAWAR  
HUSSAIN HEAD OF THE HISTORY DEPARTMENT  
UNIVERSITY OF THE PUNJAB**

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I deem it a great privilege to have been given the opportunity to deliver the presidential address in the general section of the all Pakistan History Conference.

Ordinarily an Historical Address begins with emphasis on the value of the study of History and though it will not lose its living freshness by repetition, it would at any rate sound like a platitude.

I feel, as a student of History, that under the present circumstances and conditions, it would be more valuable to talk about the Historian and his method, in view of the vast amount of material which he has to systematize and co-ordinate and the vast extent of the phenomenal world which he has to survey with its underlying sovereign purpose and present as a consistent whole from which principles for the guidance of life and thought could be deduced.

In the present age the task of the Historian is exceedingly difficult as society is advancing progressively backward, at any rate for the observance and institutionalization of absolute values. The potter, to use the hackneyed phrase, is increasingly becoming the slave of the clay he uses. The Historian has to completely overhaul the world of concrete facts and to present it as a living unity with its real will and the standing interpretations of all that is highest in it. The intellectual situation so created by the psychological mechanism of the human mind with its emphasis on externality both in the realm of law and morality, has aggravated to an alarming extent the difficulty of the Historian of the present time.

The universal dissemination made possible by the extensive use of wireless transmission by national agencies most of them with partisan objective has rendered the problem well nigh insoluble.

Only next in importance is the wide circulation of attractively produced weeklies and other periodicals of a similar tendentious nature. The power of these agencies is irresistible quo the common man and even the expert cannot always hold his judgement unswayed by their threats and blandishments so liberally spread before his eyes and ears. The Historical

expert has alway to combat the ideological monsters who are always on the rampage and whose rampagings fill the periodicals and the air with partisan propaganda. The consciousness of this fact will not deter but on the other hand lend confidence to the courageous intellectual who has taken up the service of History so that he will use his judgement and talents without fear or favour.

Alongside of these difficulties created by design both for the Historian and the common man, the inherent tendentiousness of History is itself a greivous limitation which the Historian has to transcend. This one-sidedness developes out of the origin of History, man's early religion or as one might call it the attempt at belief. At this stage on account of man's failure to adopt a universal point of view religion merely means glorification and exaltation of the individual and the work of the Historian is consequently judged and determined by his ability to produce the desired effect.

The Holy Roman Empire is an example of a period in which Historical effort was determined by the need for maintaining a particular brand and mode of theocracy. When we move forward into the era of Divine Right of Kings, History, the ever-ready handmaid of authority takes up the role of an exponent and a magnifier of artificial human grandeur. The illegitimate and debased origin of History has in fact so far determined its entire development.

It has all along found it difficult to emancipate itself from the clutches of authority and prestige. History has so far been dictated not by the majesty and might of reason and distinterested scholarship or conscience but by the whims and fancies of authority and by its demand to be maintained and perpetuated by discovering grounds of its justification.

The foundations of History are not yet to be found in reason or objective expression or picturization of events; it remains a pathetic attempt by transient authority to achieve through its mininons an immortality, at any rate such length of life as suffices its acceptance as the coinage of truth.

Authority has always been fully conscious of the effect of Historical exposition on the public mind and in this era it has been greatly busy with the task of subjugating the best to its own particular ideologies, for authority cannot remain in power unless its roots are continuously revitalised and strengthened. To preserve a power gained by subterfuge or

stratagem, it becomes necessary to adopt as a long term policy the representation of the worse as the better reason

Historical truth is innocent which the kings have always slaughtered. Even to-day the writing of true History is made almost impossible by the massive conflict of interest proceeding apace between the great powers

I have referred to the difficulties in the way of the Historian in the shape and form of an external will. The other difficulty which is equally great is what may be called internal frustration affecting the mind of the Historian, i.e. difficulties that are individual and characteristic to the person interpreting facts. It will eventually depend on his upbringing, the religion he conforms to, the country to which he belongs, his particular psychological make-up, his sentiments, the particular philosophy of life he believes in, and the chaos which is bound to result from the confusion of what is, with what ought to be. History is nothing without a purpose and these purposes are intensively personal.

I may illustrate the proposition by asking whether it is possible that a view of a Muslim and a Christian should ever coincide regarding the justification for and conduct of the Crusade, to the end of time the British view will be in nearly all respects the reverse of the French view regarding the conduct and result of the Battle of Waterloo. In our own time we have seen the vast disparity between the Hitlerian view of the success of the German arms in the First World War, and that presented to the English speaking world by the Allies during the period when their victory successfully deterred all challenge to the statements they chose to make.

And how is the Historian to shape the tendencies to which he is heir through being born a member of a particular nation? The taint must remain even after the nationality is lost conceivable that anyone of that increasing number of Central Europeans now enjoying the description of "Stateless Persons" should be without their inherited bias in relation to any event past, or future affecting their country of origin?

All these are difficulties of a true Historical analysis. In this context the question arises Can Historical objectivity have any meaning? The only answer to my mind is, There can be none in any absolute sense.

The supremacy of facts over individual opinion, transcending all personal references, is sometimes the answer suggested but it is only pushing the question a step further back. In the first instance, the difficulty is How are we going to get at true facts? But even if there was an

agreement about their existence the question remains: How is one going to interpret them and whose interpretation can be accepted as final? Interpretation is bound to entail egoistic and subjective reference.

Objectivity for the Historical specialist is indefinable. From the point of view of Historical study, such objectivity can only exist in a qualified sense. Absolute objectivity is only possible where the material can be brought under scientific observation. But how is this to be achieved? For it is necessary to employ instruments, a telescope for the distant, a microscope for the proximate events. And the handicap is that, for both kinds of visions, the specimens have already been cut and planned and shaped so that, even excluding the distortion-factor involved in the instruments itself, sight of that which happened is but rarely vouchsafed to the observer.

The magnitude of the distortion-factor varies and increases with the number of human beings through whose hands the recording of each incident has passed, each with his own purpose and tendency. And can the observer trust himself to give full effect to those material facts, assuming they come to his notice, which go against his own grain, as a human being, possessing certain religious and political beliefs and associations and his own individual purposes and inclinations? It is hardly possible to apply the description "Objective Science" to History as we know it, except in a sense so highly qualified as will deprive the term of its usual significance. There are scholars who have thought that History is or may be a useful social study but could not possibly attain the character of a science, as it lacks objectivity claimed and achieved by physical sciences. These are for instance, people like Descartes and Malebranch and of our own time-Poin care.

But I would not wish you to think I go all the way with thinkers like Descartes and Malebranch in assessing the value of History. Descartes thought that History could not produce useful results for the scholar, as it offered no scope for extraction of principles and it could by no means be called a science. Malebranch went to the extent of maintaining that there was more truth in the single principle of Metaphysics and Mathematics than in all the Historical books ever written. Such a view could only be explained on the basis of their devotion to accuracy in their capacity as Mathematicians and Physicists of the highest order. They had minds that were wholly won over by the prestige of mechanical solutions.

These thinkers failed to discern that judgment, the orderly marshalling and presentation of material, the sifting of evidence; the discrimination of Truth from falsehood, the selection of salient and relevant things from the mass of irrelevant and unimportant details, the estimation of character, the art of narrative, the comprehension of motives and principles are developed more effectually through the study of History than by any other science.

I have tried to indicate that the search for objective truth in the absolute sense, though, an ideal cannot be the only purpose or advantage in the pursuit of Historical study. Yet on the formal side such a pursuit involves many processes of the nature of investigation into human affairs. The fascination lies in the fact that History deals exclusively with great affairs, and to be concerned in such affairs, even vicariously and at a great distance in time brings a thrill to even the most pedestrian scholar. Who has not felt the glamour which goes with such phrases as the field of the cloth of gold or "I am the State," attributed to Louis XIV and things of like nature, and there is also the sense of importance which a diligent search for material in official archives or war despatches or official or private diaries of great personages carries with it. For without going to such sources there is no history and the study thereof will provide the scholar with no mean insight into the play and interplay of motives and policies among nations and their notabilities. Such knowledge is of inestimable value to him in developing that sense of Historical Judgment and discrimination which will be his main claim to recognition as a Historian. But the attraction of the formal investigation does not by any means represent the ultimate gain from Historical study. Its attraction lies in acquiring a historical habit of mind and this is the greatest gift that a study of history can offer. Hence Lord Acton observed "That the gift of historical thinking is better than historical learning." Over and above the study of individual occurrences and movements, there stands the enquiry into the expansion and flowering of the particular genius of each group or nation, the operation of great forces deriving from geographical and economic factors, the working out of the inner belief and desires often traceable to myths which illuminate or obscure the collective mind or will of a nation and even it may be the changes scarcely perceptible over ordinary intervals of time like the movements of glaciers which show the human spirit at work in all its universality and majesty. If we have faith in ourselves as a nation, if we look forward to a glorious future, let us not be hittle the search of



scholars into significant events in our national history. The life of a people represents a spiritual continuity, and much may be lost to us if pressed and preoccupied with the forces of modernity we lose sight of our true genius as exhibited on critical occasions in the past. The present life of the community is its whole past and only by understanding that past can you understand it or determine its future. The Historian has to tell the whole truth and for this he has not merely to depend upon documentary authority but he must also have that fullness and enlargement of mind or culture which alone can enable him to reach out towards the truth and grasp it. The Historian must attain a very high level of culture which can come more from prolonged thought than arduous labour. To arrive at the whole truth the historical method involves first the investigation of the truth about the past : 'criticism of authorities and the comparison of their evidence, the estimation of character and motives ; strict chronology ; the analysis of causes ; the ideas by which men were actuated and what is perhaps most important of all is the practice of the virtuous habit of verification,

By telling the whole truth I mean not of course the impossible task of setting down everything that ever happened but rather that of seeing "beyond things that take the eye and have the price" to the spiritual processes of which these are but casual manifestations. For this task the Historian requires mental equipment of the highest order. He must be a Logician, a Psychologist, even a Metaphysician if he is correctly to trace the course of human development. It has been said that in the beginning of the civilization the role of the poet was that of a maker ; civilization advanced he changed into that of an unrecognised legislator and when belief itself is dead he plays the part of a saviour. This celebrated thesis applies with far greater propriety and fitness to the Historian rather than to the poet for the Historian has not only to interpret the moral and absolute values for mankind but has to trace, delineate and determine its proper setting in the living social unity and developing reality.

The aim and business of the Historians to discover and propagate the truth, and you, ladies and gentlemen, as students of history can all help to lay it. In the end I wish you profit and pleasure in your deliberations.

All dynamic people awaken to their ideals and aspirations in the light of history. A people who do not ruminate history, in a literal sense, are a people without a backbone. The status of nations is erected on the foundations of their historical past.

Poorly did most of the non-Muslim historians paint the Muslim historic past in India and elsewhere. Most of them made capital of the wars that these conquerors waged and exploited the fact in a manner that culminated in a civil strife during the last two years of British rule over this Sub-continent. The purposeful distortion of historical facts brought about terrible results. There is a hard-felt need that Indo-Pakistan history should be re-written without spite or prejudice. An objective study of history is the vital call of the hour.

It is pitiable that Muslims in this Sub-continent have assumed unparadonable indifference towards Islamic history. The few books, that have been written on certain problems and aspects of Islamic history are products of the West. It is unfortunate that the West has distorted everything and has twisted historic truth with the rampant enthusiasm of crusaders. The writing of Islamic history is another important task that calls for Herculean effort from Muslim historians.

It is worth recalling that Muslims of this Sub-continent have produced in the modern age great historians like Maulana Shibli Nomani, Sir Shafa' at Ahmad and Professor Mohd. Habib. As a biographer of some of the heroes of Islamic history, Shibli enjoys a position of eminence. He combined in himself traditional oriental learning with modernism. For the coming generations he has become the torchbearer of Muslim historiography in the Sub-continent. Being an ardent believer in the role that Islam has played in the past and is destined to play in the future, his pro-Muslim point of view becomes explainable. Objectively speaking, he is not always in line with the severe rules that must be observed in scientific historiography, but his ramblings into subjectivity are, to my mind, fully compensated for by his style and enthusiasm. On a few places he does assume the role of Muslim apologist, but that is of course a reflection of his association with Aligarh. The great thing about him is the inspiration that he imparts to young folk, which is a rare quality even amongst celebrated Western historians.

Sir Shafa'at Ahmad was an authority on the early British period in India. A survey of the work that he has done to promote the cause of history and historiography makes one think of the undying interest that he so well maintained in the subject throughout his life. He was the Founder-Editor of the Indian Historical Journal and did a great service in bringing most of the students of history together in the Indian History Congress, to the organisation of which, he lent tireless support. Amongst his writings the most striking are a *Bibliography* and his lectures on History and Historians of British India that he delivered at Mysore. Though devoid of a philosophic insight into the subject he always impresses one with the amount of scholarship that he possessed. In recent years he could be easily assessed as the pioneer of Muslim historians in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, who had a lesson and a message to impart to serious students of history through his own example.

Before the advent of British historiographers the field of Indo-Muslim history, books on the subject answered the biographical school. British scholars like Elliot and Dowson were helpful in preserving the Persian MSS in a spirit only surprised by the industrious Khuda Bux and the cultured Newal Kishore. It can be safely vouched that without the active support and efforts of these great lovers of learning, we might not have had even a fragment of what we possess to-day in historical material pertaining to the Indo-Muslim period. The tragedy is that what has been preserved has not been explained. The Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, renamed Asiatic Society after August, 1947, set to itself the ambitious task of compiling and translating the material as a '*Bibliotheca Indica*'; S. R. Sharma spent most of his time in compiling a Bibliography of Mughul India. But it is a pity that most Muslims have looked indifferently to the task that will guarantee the integrity of a record of their historical past.

Let me point out that till recently the biographical side of our history has been making headway. We are only gradually becoming alive to the higher demands of history and its writing.

In the United Kingdom and consequently the British Commonwealth the biographical school of history gets its inspiration from the hero-worship of Carlyle. This school believes in history being the collective biography of great men. To any student of history in this country the striking note of this school should be easily recognisable. Most of the Islamic history in India and out-side has followed the biographical

concept in the writing of history. A survey of the chronological facts in Indo-Muslim history convinces us that we have always been committed to this biographical school. The Arab heritage of the art of genealogy has penetrated the inner most folds of our historical literature and our historians have been super-punctilious about dynastic history. To me, for example, Indo-Muslim history is a record of the names of successive rulers and their military or administrative feats. The chronological sequence and the chroniclers' data on which most of the history text books are fashioned even to-day, failed to initiate me into the purpose of such a study of history of the message that it to often pretended to convey.

The scientific school of historiography emphasises man's relation to his environment. A better understanding of an environment promotes the human adaptability to it. Unfortunately historians of this Sub-continent have not adopted this attitude in their writings. Their emphasis has been more on the dynastic personality than the social atmosphere around it. A few of us, who have tried to vindicate the policy of the last Mughul potentate, Aurangzib, have unconsciously committed ourselves to this school and sought an apology for the alleged anti-Hindu policy of that great king. The apologists for Clive and Hastings in their efforts to justify their deeds have often adopted this method, but no more. In fact, the real spirit of the scientific school has been submerged by overdrawing of biographical traits under the influence of official chroniclers. Whereas the scientific school implies, 'history as scientific and technological evolution of man', a few of our pseudo-scientific historiographers have converted themselves into mere apologists. There is a mention of the 'technological superiority' of Indians in a few Kitabistan publications, and in Romesh Dutt's *Economic History of India*. In such references, however, the technological facts are mentioned not by themselves but by way of elucidating the economic technique, by the application of which, the British acquired a show but sure economic domination over the sub-continent.

Our historians have not even followed the lead given by the Economic school or the materialistic interpretation of history. The exploitation of the masses by the classes has been a regular feature of all Asiatic history in all phases, but the enunciation of the fact has been conveniently concealed. It is doubtful, however, if the superstructure of a society is based on the economic laws prevalent in it, as Karl Marx and Pickhanov would have us believe, but an attempt into this realm of historiography

could have been quite fascinating and controversial. With the exceptions of the interesting book '*India from Primitive Communism to Slavery*,' and Karl Marx's '*Letters on India*' and comrades Adhikari and Joshi's articles in the '*Marxist Miscellany*,' no experiments have been carried out in this field. We have to admit that present day politics in this sub-continent as in other parts of the world, is to a large extent, influenced by the position and availability of certain raw materials. We have to acquire an insight to find out whether such influences existed in the past history of our country. The answer to such a question may be a probable 'yes' or an emphatic 'no,' but the conclusion could be more justified after a thorough research and sifting of the material at our disposal.

The history of any country is understandable in its geographic context. The tendency to base human developments upon geographic factors as old as history itself dates back to the Greek Hippocrates, the father of medicine. Herodotus visualised history as a constant struggle between two geographic units Europe and Asia. Time and again we have been told of the geographic insularity of Great Britain and the consequences that it has wrought in European history. The most recent outburst of such an interpretation of history was to be found in the Nazi ideology, which regarded the world as a Geo-political unit which has been dwarfed by the rapid development of communication into a geo-social, geo-economic and even a geo-ethical unit. The relation between history and geography is doubtlessly intimate, a fact that requires no qualifications. The geographic position and setting up of the different regions of Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent have gone a long way in making the history of this sub-continent. The passage afforded by the Khyber Pass to the intending invaders has been explained many times. Usually, an introductory chapter on geographic characteristics of our country is added to each history book. But that is where the charm ends. The fact is never recollected till the end of the story, and one does not understand the interaction of geography and history clearly. It is worthwhile to draw your attention to the fact that the troubled reign of Muhammad Bin Tughluq was also a time when unprecedented politico-geographical changes were taking place all over the world. The Mehran river, a tributary of the Indus, mentioned by Marshal in his description of archaeological excavations, was lost during his reign. If more research could be carried on this project, there is every chance that a clue may be found to the deterioration of economic position and stability of the peasants attributed to the Tughluq's mal-administration. I cannot resist the temptation to mention that the recent

floods in the Punjab may be due to the romantic possibility that the lost river is attempting to re-canalise itself

Syed Suleman Nadvi and Dr Inayat Ullah have both worked on the influence of Geography on the Arab History. Phillip K. Hitti attributes the early Muslim expansion to the geographic incapacity of holding a population that had ceased to fight internecine wars under the teachings of the Holy Prophet. Much could be done in the field of geographic interpretation of the Indo Pakistan history, especially, in explaining the historical and cultural heritage of the Punjab and its disseminative and mixed-up character

In the words of Professor Franklin H. Giddings 'the sociological school of history views historical progress as the social aspiration to make the society a happier place to live in'. The attempts of the founders of Buddhism and Jainism in ancient India are worth recollecting. The mist of anecdotes and episodes which have been attributed to the founders of these two systems, provides us with the legendary and mythological clues to their methods of bringing about a happier state of society around them, a society with lesser misery and suffering, a better place to live in. In the indigenous attempts made by the different founders of systems and philosophers in improving the lot of the human herd, these two prophets have a place assigned to them. It should be incumbent on the student of Indo-Pakistan history to trace the story of such attempts made in different ages by the inhabitants and their leaders. Little has so far been done on this aspect of our history though the Western scholars, like C. E. M. Joad in his *'Story of Indian Civilisation'* has pointed out the unceasing pains that our forefathers took in this direction.

The history of mankind has also been treated in the West as the story of human ideas. The Italian philosopher-historian, Croce, has visualised History as the story of Liberty. The ideas of Progress, Humanity, Equality and Fraternity along with the concept of gradual realisation of Democratic modes of life, have influenced the writings of the scholars in the West. Professors Whitehead and Sbarbes Mathews share the views of Croce, who assigns the dominating position to the human mind and its function in the following words: 'History is the record of human mind or spirit and its ideals in so far as they express themselves in theories and the works of art, in practical and in moral action.' Professor Ernest Barker in his *'Ideas and Ideals of the British Empire'* also upholds the same view. We know for certain that great ideas have been duly appreciated

and credited by foreigners but they demand a sympathetic consideration and compilation by us. The Mughul paintings and architecture need an extensive study from this angle.

We have also failed to present a synthetic study of Indo-Pakistan history. Ordinarily, we have professed that future has its roots in the past, that the failings of the past give us a warning to adopt better methods in future. The British rulers of India applied the past to suit their purpose. They painted the past to disrupt the peaceful collective living, to accelerate the pace of mutual and communal hatred. The experience gained by them in India during the war of 1914-18 when the demand for self-government had acquired enormous dimensions, was applied in curbing its repetition in 1942 by instituting a most articulate propaganda against the 'Quit India' dissenters. There are many other such lessons which could be picked up by a synthetic understanding of our history. To quote just another observation. The breakdown of the Greek religion gave way to such materialistic philosophies as Cynicism, Epicureanism and Stoicism. The inevitable breakdown of the Hindu religion might make way for the materialistic philosophy of communism in Bharat.

We conclude that the traditional historiography has been rivetted to an over-emphasis of the dynastic doings and misdoings. A few of us having the taste for this or that school try to write on the lines of their choice to build up a historiographical tradition in our country on a different basis to the one so far followed.

## THE NEW HISTORICAL SENSE.

The historical sense is a consciousness of history as a continuous, changing, interdependent, liberating process; a drama in which we as individuals come on the stage regardless of our wishes and pass off against our will, a feeling of identification with, and participating in, a movement of events greater than ourselves.

James Robinson predicted that "some day history may well become the most potent instrument for human regeneration". In this prediction he exhibited the horizon—searching sense, the positive and constructive outlook. The view that history may become an effective means for the deliberate improvement of human life, Robinson shared with all the great social reformers. That attitude follows also partly from his idea of the meaning of history. He conceived of history as "an effect to recall present." His is clearly the larger view with an upto date regard for the needs of the public and its problems. Here, then, is a general criterion, both for those who would study for the sake of understanding, as well as for those who seek a solution to the insistent problems of the time.

Obviously some historians are interested in history as a method of inquiry and in this respect they credit the writer of natural history and sociology with being pioneers in the genetic and cultural treatment of natural and historical phenomena. But we should not minimise the importance of history as a body of organised factual knowledge. At the same time we must realise that history is more than a coordinate accumulation of fragmentary facts with which to burden the pupils who must read up to pass the examination. We ought to employ the test of relevancy to present day problems. May be someone quietly producing a text which begins in the present with the unsolved problems inherited from previous time.

Indeed the text-book writers must do a great deal of rethinking in the light of a broader historical sense. The time is past when we should make youth an omnibus in which to carry the whole detailed record. As a matter of fact we must discard the highly sanctioned inconsequentialities, the sterile detritus of dead learning, and the debris of superstitions and ignorance. The historian must give information—but information with significant bearing on our problems.

Some-times the historians get lumbered down with the useless deposits of historical tradition that tend to dull their forward—seeing perspicuity



and disorient their feelings for the current scene of problem solving. History is not a mere pile of data but a point of view: in the words of Henry Wiemen a "qualitative meaningfulness".

That point of view is the historical sense which may be described as a kind of social awareness which appear to offer continuity of possibilities for progressive approximation towards peace, freedom solidarity of human kind.

The study of history is assuming vital importance to-day, particularly in view of the lethal weapons men have devised for mutual extermination of the human species. Also, the present world community is too large to be known at first hand and this calls for an expansiveness of the historical sense.

John Dewey, in his famous book "Human Nature and Conduct" writes: History shows how little the progress of man has been the product of intelligent guidance, how largely it has been a by-product of accidental upheavals. Instead of constantly utilising unused impulse to effect a continuous reconstruction, we have waited till an accumulation of stresses suddenly breaks through the dikes of custom".

We should try to expand the historical sense through a study of world History, or Colleges should increasingly offer instruction in World History or the history of civilisation and culture. The writer has worked out some objectives which he desires to share with fellow teachers in the hope that some critical suggestions will be shared in turn.

### OBJECTIVES

1. To get a fairly whole and factual picture of the world we live in and to train youth in methods of enquiry and in the way human activities are organised.
2. To appreciate the universal kingship of all humanity and to stimulate and expansive world mindedness.
3. To enquire in what sense men do learn from history.
4. To make history in the general public interest.
5. To become aware of our responsibilities for the change of conditions, values, attitudes and motives which conduce to an increase of human good: and to develop the urge to achievement and improvement.

## WATERLOO

The campaign of Waterloo may not possess the glory and brilliance and triumph of Napoleon's earlier operations, but it does explain, in a masterly way his system of advancing in mass. In order to understand Napoleon's movements in Belgium it is appropriate to appreciate his plan of organising his *armee du Nord* in two wings and a reserve. It would be sheer insolence to criticise the greatest captain of war for his disaster on the fatal field of *lax Belle-alliance*, and the critic will do well to remember that the Napoleonic genius can be measured by genius only and therefore all fictitious and uncritical interpretations should be completely discarded. The history of the campaign must be explained in the correct historical perspective, in the light of unimpeachable data of approved merit.

Let us therefore begin this discussion by making a brief reference to Napoleon's system of advancing in mass and of manoeuvring. It will explain the strategy of the Emperor in 1815.

In the campaign of Marengo (1800) Napoleon employed the technique of wide reconnaissance. In the Ulm campaign of 1805, he detected another factor of immense strategic value, that cavalry cannot all by itself hold back the enemy; and since he was always confronted by coalitions it was imperative to evolve a system by which he could beat each army separately or at any rate before they could be combined, and beat it decisively and in the shortest possible time. This new system which was developed by him was put into operation in the Jena campaign. In this campaign (1806) the Eight corps of the grand army were divided into four parts. Six corps were meant for strategic protection. Two corps acted as strategic Right Flank Guard, two were strategic Advance Guard, and two were strategic left Flank Guard; and the remaining two corps acted as the reserve, which was placed in the centre, and was under the command of Emperor. In 1806 Napoleon was heading towards Berlin and the Prussians would not surrender without desperate defence and Napoleon wanted to destroy the Prussian forces before the Russians who were far away, could join. The French Troops 400,00 in number were to attack the Prussians and keep them engaged for a sufficiently long time to allow the Emperor to manoeuvre so as to deliver a knockout blow. The covering forces were expected to fight to the limit of human endurance, and now that the enemy had been gripped Napoleon could have sufficient time to deliver the final death blow! He believed in the economy of force on the field of Battle, and wanted to win the war in the shortest possible time.

In 1807 Napoleon introduced the 'Case-shot-attack,' to ensure certain success once the enemy has been immobilised. This development of artillery tactics was frequently employed by him in later actions. When he thought the moment for final blow had arrived he would ask the reserve batteries to march forward and tear a breach in the enemy's lines by a concentrated shower of grape. In a moment of crisis the guns would move to a distance of five hundred yards and open a fire of grape, or case-shot, and this relentless shower of grape would tear the required breach and ultimately over-power and crush the enemy.

By the year 1815 the advance in "Battalion square" or the use of strategical Advance Guards or covering masses had acquired a firm basis and it was particularly suited to the strategical outlook in 1815. If the *armee du Nord* is organised in two wings with a reserve in the centre it would march into Belgium, and its two wings would grip the enemy and hold it fast till the emperor attacked with the Reserve to destroy the immobilised foe and the covering corps would locate the enemy's main forces and afford ample protection to the *armee du Nord*. This system of advancing in mass afforded a tactical advantage. The intelligence acquired by the covering forces gave Napoleon his chance for manoeuvre and the covering forces in addition to the work of exploration, intelligence and location of enemy forces engage their immediate opponents to a 'fixed point' and the emperor around this point will manoeuvre and swing in his reserve. In this way the covering masses gave Napoleon a chance of developing his operations and finally to deal a swift death blow to the enemy.

The campaign of Waterloo illustrates the system of strategical advanced guard in a complete form. In the Waterloo campaign there were two enemy armies in the field and they were in contact with each other. The advance in two wings and a reserve was in perfect harmony with the situation. Two corps would be used to form each wing while two would act as the reserve under Napoleon. The Emperor arranged his army in this way for the campaign.

The battle of Waterloo may be divided into five phases, all of which are distinct, well-defined, and separated by perceptible intervals. First phase from 11-30 A.M. attack on Hougoumont and the appearance of the Prussians.

At 11-30 Napoleon opened the battle with the assault on Hougoumont. The French opened fire and a brisk duel broke out between the British and

French guns. In a desperate bid to attack the Chateau Jerome lost all his men. Jerome misunderstood Napoleon's plan. A thrust at Hougoumont was intended to induce the Duke to weaken his centre and reinforce his right. But Jerome continued the murderous assault against the garrison of Hougoumont. It was a maladroit game of staking gold against copper. Under Napoleon's order the main assault of the ridge began. About mid-day the French guns opened fire, and precisely at this moment the Emperor received Grouchy's second letter from Gembloux telling him that the Prussians were moving on Brussels. The fire of the French Battery was "so terrible as to strike with awe the oldest veterans on the field". At 1 P.M. the Emperor came to know that Bulow's corps of 30,000 was coming to Wellington's aid. And the Emperor immediately decided to involve Bulow in Wellington's route. And at 8-30 P.M. Napoleon ordered Ney to begin the attack on the Anglo-Dutch army before the Prussians arrived. This is the end of the first phase.

#### 2nd Phase from 1-30 P.M. D'Erlons attack on Wellington's left centre.

As D'Erlons huge column began to climb the British gunners opened their heavy fire. Here we should pause for a moment and observe a peculiar phenomenon. Napoleon's initial bombardment was intended to destroy the spirit of resistance before he sent in his infantry to win. But his bombardment against the farm and villages did not have the desired effect. Against Wellington's troops it was not successful. They retained their stubbornness and powers of resistance. To continue. Two important facts may be mentioned. One, Uxbridge ordered Somersets and Ponsonby's to charge D'Erlons infantry too, about the same time Ponsonby's union Brigade achieved a brilliant success. They swooped down on D'Erlons infantry and the French lost heavily in killed and wounded and left 3,000 prisoners and two Eagles. The horsemen swept into the French Battery and cut down the gunners and the horses. Seeing this Napoleon hurled his cavalry against them, and the Union Bridge was nearly destroyed.

Fire was opened on Hougoumont and the Chateau burst into flames, but the garrison held on and could not be dislodged. Just before the end of this phase Napoleon received another letter from Grouchy.

3rd Phase from 3-30 P.M. attack on Wellington's position culminating in the French Cavalry charges and the opening of Blucher's attack against Napoleon's Right.

At 3-30 P.M. Napoleon ordered Ney to storm La Haye Sainte. Ney opened the attack but the assault failed. Gun fire continued and Ivery detected in the thick clouds of smoke which had enveloped the centre, that wounded men were leaving the front line and to stop the general retreat. Ney decided to force an immediate decision. He ordered a brigade of Mulhaud's Cuirassiers to attack. Ney's enterprise was reckless. Ney had misread the situation. Wellington did not contemplate retreat, and his line remained intact under Ney's assault. At 4 P.M. Ney led the cavalry forward. The horsemen were received by a hail of fire and their moment was slowed down due to sodden ground and deep corn fields. When the French cavalry were within 30 yards the Duke's infantry pealed volley after volley and the French artillery and horsemen became a wreck. An eye witness records "the French cavalry made some of the boldest charges, I ever saw. They sounded the whole extent of our line, which was thrown into squares. Never did cavalry behave so nobly, or was received by infantry so firmly; our guns were taken and retaken repeatedly".

The exhausted cuirassiers retired and advanced once more and continued the epic struggle until they were pushed down the slope.

Napoleon watched Ney's gallant effort and the advance of the Prussians against his right. The Emperor had to play a double role to continue the frontal attack on Wellington and fight a defensive battle against Blucher. But before launching his guard against Wellington, Napoleon decided to beat back Bulow. It may be emphatically added that the battle had begun with Bulow and the battle with Wellington, was raging with full fury. At this supreme moment Napoleon perhaps threw away the last chance offered to him to gain a victory over Wellington. Perhaps he was not true to himself. By throwing for complete success the battle might have turned in his favour.

At 5-30 P.M. fresh attack was made against Wellington's centre, but the cavalry was not supported by infantry. In this crisis there was no Senormont to open a case-shot attack of the squares and the death of General Desvaux who died fighting close to the Emperor was a great misfortune.

Three times the cavalry attack was made and the grand scene reacted. Thrice the horsemen had been swept off the plateau and thrice they re-

formed themselves at the foot of the slope. This splendid body of horse-men was indefatigable. Ney launched another attack to storm the plateau but the stout hearted infantry held firm and Ney's horsemen descended into the valley, worn out. But the lion-hearted Ney would not despair. Mounting his fourth horse he put himself at the head of a thousand desperate men and for the tenth time climbed the death-strewn slope and with one great resounding shout 'Vive L' Emperor' this death ride of heroes burst into the resolute infantry". The end came soon. This devoted band was again beaten back from the fatal blood drenched plateau.

At 4-30 P.M. Bulow's 30,000 men appeared from the Paris wood, and although Labau could not hold off 30,000 men he fought stubbornly and well. But he made one serious tactical mistake. He did not occupy the wood, and surrendered it to Bulow without fighting. At 5-30 P.M. the whole of Bulow's corps came up and drove Labau and Doman up the Charleroi Road, behind Napoleon. The Emperor promptly sent reinforcement. The attack succeeded. the Prussian were dislodged and the village was cleared. The arrival of Prussian troops saved Wellington from defeat.

Renewed attempts were made to storm La Haye Sainte, and the place was set on fire but the fire was controlled and the French were beaten back. So far the Emperor had gained nothing, his cavalry was ruined and the situation was apparently serious at the end of the 3rd phase.

### The legend of the Hollow Way

- The legend of the Hollow way or Ohain Road is a myth-apiece of sheer imagination. It describes an imaginary disaster to the French cavalry on their way. The Hollow way was an ordinary country lane slightly sunk below the level of the ground. It could not be the cause of disaster. So it may be safely consigned to the limbo of exploded fictions.

### 4th. Phase. 6 P.M. Capture of La Haye Sainte:

After a survey of his battle line Napoleon ordered Ney to take La Haye sainte at all cost, Ney carried out his master's orders and the garrison which had stood many storms fell. But the defenders fought well. "The possession of La Haye-Sainte and of the knoll above it on each side of the great road enabled the enemy to keep up a destructive

fire of musketry upon the troops posted for the defence of this important part of the Line." Ney was quick to take advantages of his success and pushed a regiment into the *Sa'd Pit*. Ney had also noticed that Wellington's men were showing signs of exhaustion. And Ney's surmise was correct. Wellington's men were in a desperate situation. But the duke was calm and undaunted. It may be added that if the guard had been thrown enmasse immediately after the fall of La Haye Sainte, Wellington's centre might be breached. After the fall of La Haye Sainte a body of Cuirassiers collected in the valley below and advanced towards the enemy. Prince Orange sent a battalion against the French Infantry which was cut to pieces. The French inflicted tremendous loss on their enemy. The French infantry supported by Cavalry could do this. Clearly the duke's centre was exposed to danger, but the perilous situation was eased by the duke's tactical skill.

Bulow had retaken Plancenoit and Napoleon was determined to free his right. Two Battalions of his Old Guard were ordered to storm. With naked steel they forced their way, overcame all resistance and drove out the Prussians and in this epic struggle acts of great personal bravery were seen. One example may be cited. The Drum-Major with his drum-major's staff beat down all who came near him. The fourteen Prussian Battalions were swept away. By this sledge-hammer blow Napoleon freed his Right and Stopped to advance of the Prussians.

5th Phase. From 7 P. M. the last madness of Despair attack of the Imperial Guard. Failure and the Rout of the *armee Du Nord*.

Now that the danger to his Right was relieved, Napoleon thought of making one last bid for victory. He thought the Anglo-Dutch army was exhausted. A grand attack by his "invincibles" which the Emperor was organising now, would have breached Wellington's centre if launched immediately after the capture of La Haye Sainte. For the Iron Duke the crisis was over. A French deserter had informed the Duke where the attack would be made and Wellington after receiving this piece of information made certain necessary dispositions. The supreme onslaught of the Emperor was not a single, concentrated effort, the guards were to advance in these echelons and deliver three attacks on two parts of the Duke's line. At the head of the first echelon rode Ney. The Marsloid's horse was shot down under him, and thence-forward he led the attack on foot. At this moment the British Horse Artillery Troops rained a salvo of grape-shot.

But the assailants neither flinched nor faltered, and continued the advance. But the attack of the first echelon had failed.

Another thrust at Wellington's line was made to the East of Hougoumont, and the 3rd Chasseurs advanced to the very crest of the ridge but before they reached the Chaim Road they had been swept away by Napier's point-blank firing and here they were confronted by a thin red line. It was the British guards who barred further advance. On Wellington's commands "Up guards, ready" they rose from their hiding place in the cornfield, and fired a volley from their muskets. The Chasseurs were swept back and flung down. The 4th Chasseurs advanced to help, their comrades but the British Guards received them with a volley of grape-shot. This was the last desperate bid for victory. As the 4th Chasseurs were passing they came perilously near the point-blank range of the British Battalion. A thick cloud of smoke settled over the desperate contestants. Cheers and shouts were heard. And there was more of fire and then came the end which was the end of Napoleon and the first Empire. The chasseurs fled in confusion. It was 8 P. M. They cried for help! It was the death knell of further resistance. The French were too exhausted to send help. On the other end, the Duke rode to the crest, took off his hat and waved it in the air, and called out "Go on! Colborne, Go on! give them no time to rally". And 40,000 men came down the slopes. The French abandoned La Haye Sainte, and panic reigned supreme. A British officer records, "I have seen nothing like that movement, the sky literally darkened with smoke the sun just going down, and until then it had not for some hours broken the rough, the gloom of a dull day, the indescribable shouts of thousands where it was impossible to distinguish between friend and foe. Every man's arm seemed to be raised against that of every other. Suddenly after the mingled mess had ebbed and flowed the enemy began to yield and cheering and British Huzzas announced that the day must be ours". The French were seen running away, another witness testifies, "On every side in the greatest haste and confusion, not knowing when we moved to the front which had succeeded, it was a sight I shall never forget."

The Prussian horsemen joined the British Cavalry at La Bella Alliance, and Napoleon was caught on the battle field between the two closing jaws of the allied army. Labau stood dauntless to cover the retreat of the grand army along the charleroi road and saved the Emperor's army from annihilation. General Duhesme was killed in the fight for Plancenoit.



As he saw ruin all round the Emperor used the Battalions as cover for the *armee du Nord* and marched off. And the three battalions were formed into three squares. Wellington's infantry opened fire, Napoleon ordered the squares to withdraw and moved to La Belle Alliance to reform the *armee du Nord*.

With the end of the battle, Ney decided to die a soldier's death, "splashed with mud, bare-headed, his face blakened by powder-smoke, with and apaulette shot away and his sword blade, broken to the hilt, Ney saw Brues Brigade and placing himself at its head flung it on the enemy. But nothing to be done. The Brigade was soon broken. But to avoid arrest, he entered the same square of guard and left the field on foot. In their last encounter with the enemy the French covered themselves with glory. Napoleon stood in the centre of the two battalions of the guard to save the grand army from the fearful prospect of hot pursuit. The British guns opened their mouths. The gunners standing beside their empty pieces, stood firm and beat off the assailants. They stood alone and all efforts to break them failed. Two battalions confronting two armies. A Homeric epic. At this moment Labau's men who were driven by the Prussians from the ruins of Plancenoit were given refuge. The Emperor ordered them to fall back and they drew off in perfect order. In this terrible crisis the old Guard proved worthy of Napoleon and France. They died and did not surrender. Undying fame is their reward. Majestic and superb Napoleon left the square and took the road to Charleroi. At 9 P.M. Wellington and Blucher met near the farm of La Belle Alliance. Wellington's men were worn out and therefore Blucher ordered Gneisenau to lead the pursuit. Wellington's remark at the close of the day is this "I have never fought such a battle and I tried I shall never fight another". Later the Duke wrote to Marshall Beresford, "Never did I see such a pounding match. Both were, what the boxers called gluttons. Napoleon did not manouvre at all. He moved forward in the old style" in columns, and was driven off "old style". The only difference was that he mixed cavalry with the infantry, and supported both with an enormous quantity of artillery. I have the infantry (anglo-Dutch) for some time in squares and saw the French Cavalry walking about as if they had been at the battle. I saw the British infantry behave as well."

*The pursuit. Accompanied by Marshall Soult the Emperor rode to Charleroi where he found the British army.*

Blücher's men were carrying on close pursuit 4,000 Prussians were on the heels of the beaten *armie du Nord*, but even in its utter rout a small determined body of men guarded the Eagle of each regiment and in this hour of ruin and despair not a single Eagle was surrendered

The army performed miracles, declared Napoleon on the morning of 21st as he hurriedly alighted from his carriage in front of the Elysee, "but it was seized with panic." All is lost.' Ney behaved like a madman; he had all my cavalry cut to pieces." This comment is substantially correct.

While talking about Waterloo in St. Helena one seems to hear him gnash his teeth "if it were to begin again," he exclaims. He cannot understand how he lost it. Perhaps the rain of the 17th. If he had Suchet at the head of Grouchy's army and Androssi in Soult's place—if Bessières or Lannes had commanded the Guard—had he given the command of the Guard to Lobau—had commanded the Guard to Labau—had Murat headed the Cavalry—had Claus or Lamarque been at the War Office, all might have been different. He thinks he should not have employed Ney or Vandamme. More than once he says he lost it, because an officer gave a wrong order to charge with the Horse Grenadiers, but Montholon says that the order was given by the Emperor himself. He blames Ney and Vandamme. He declares that the whole glory of the victory belongs to the Prince of Orange. Without him the British army would have been annihilated and Blücher hurled back beyond the Rhine. "The English won by the excellence of their discipline" he admits. "It was a fatality for in spite of all I should have won the battle..... Poor France to be beaten by those scoundrels but it's true there had already been Cressy and Agincourt.

## DEMOCRACY.

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(LECTURE DELIVERED AT THE SECOND SESSION OF THE PAKISTAN  
HISTORY CONFERENCE.)

I think it is of vital importance that we should understand the difficulties which beset democracy in the modern world. Thus we should be able to clear our ideas about the functions of democracy and our own responsibilities if we want to maintain a democratic regime. I would start by trying to define democracy because there is considerable confusion of thought on that topic. I would like to consider democracy not as an institution but as a way, even a way of life. I shall elucidate this by saying that there is such a variety of institutions through which democracy expresses itself in the realm of politics, that their number is almost legion and every one of these institutions, if the spirit of democracy is missing, ceases to be democratic. For instance, it is not essential that every republic should be a democracy. There are republics which are as far removed from democracy as any organised tyranny can be and there are forms of monarchy which are perhaps more democratic than many a republic. Therefore, it is not the form but the spirit in which an institution is worked, which characterises it as democratic or otherwise. And therefore I would repeat that democracy is a way, a way of life, an approach to life, a spirit in which institutions are worked, rather than the institutions themselves.

It was this essential truth which was recognised by Islam at the very beginning. Islam did not start with the definition of institutions. It instilled into Muslim society a spirit which was essentially democratic. It is the spirit which expresses itself in various forms and various institutions. Islam was not meant for a particular race, for a particular country or, for that matter, for a particular age; and, therefore, the foundation of democracy was laid on the democratic way of life, and the building up of institutions was left to the Muslims in accordance with their growing knowledge and the spirit of the age.

Democracy has not always meant the same thing, nor has it always been popular. Indeed, the meaning of the word democracy has changed with human progress. It is a common-place of political Science that the Greeks had a righteous horror of democracy. "Demos" was more or

less identical with the mob. It was something to be afraid of; it was not something to be idolised. The Greeks thought that the Government of the many by the few, if these few happened to be the best people, was the 'ideal polity.' That is the reason why early Greek political thinkers have emphasised the virtues of an aristocracy, "the Government by the best". Unfortunately human genius has not yet been able to discover a method at ensuring government by the best. There is no, as perhaps Ruskin would have put it, "winnowing machine" which would bring the best to the top for the purpose of ordering the life of the community. And, therefore, gradually and slowly, it has been necessary to build up a method by which at least the people may be able, in some way or other, howsoever imperfect the method may be, to decide who, from their point of view, are the best. And that is the reason why we find that the horror for the demo s has been lost and the people have been idealised, perhaps to an extent which is not justified in every case. In the earlier period of liberal thought the people was considered to be the repository of all wisdom, all knowledge, and all discretion.

### When Passion Clouds the Reason

Social Psychology has come to our rescue and now we know better. We know that the people is not guided so much by reason as by emotion. We all know today that in human affairs, reason plays a secondary part and emotion plays a much greater, much more important part. It should, however, be remembered that this emotion which guides the people in ordering its affairs is not always guided either by self-interest, or by a rational approach to life. There are many occasions when, for instance, the people's interest may demand a particular foreign policy, but they are guided by their emotions, very often, in a totally different direction. How often does it not happen that, as a result of certain emotions countries which naturally ought to be friends turn enemies and countries which sometimes have very little in common find themselves united in sentiment over some point and become friends. This element of lack of reason expresses itself in domestic policy also, not always enlightened self-interest which guides the people. It is once again a matter of sentiment, of opinions which have been built up, often over a number of years, sometimes within a short period. Therefore we have to take into consideration the fact that a democracy is not always, I would go further and say is not essentially, guided by reason; on the other hand it is guided by emotion. It is obvious that the responsibility of

the political leaders, of those who create public opinion and of those who are the educators of the public at large is very great indeed. It is their function to bring out the rational in problems and not work upon human emotions. Human emotions are like combustible material; a match stick may set fire to the magazine and it may lead to an explosion which cannot be controlled by any effort. In a democracy, therefore, it is absolutely essential for any person, if he occupies a position where he can influence public opinion, to keep emotions in the background, and to bring to the foreground the rational aspect of every problem. This is the duty not only of those who build up public opinion but also of the people at large. And in a country where literacy may be low, where the standard of education may not be very high, where the number of educated persons may be a microscopic minority, the responsibility of all people who are capable of thinking is very great indeed. It is they who create public opinion.

### You get the Government you deserve

It should also be understood clearly that people should not expect wonders from democracy. In democracy, perhaps more than in any other form of government, the virtues and the vices of the nation are bound to be reflected in the government. It is not possible to have one kind of society and to have another kind of government. Sure enough whenever the electorate find an opportunity they will reflect their own weaknesses, their own strong points in the people they elect to their legislatures, to their governments and to their other institutions. Everywhere the people's own character will be revealed and represented. Therefore, it may be counsel of perfection but there is no getting away from the fact that if the people want to reform a government or a society or any institution or any machinery, they must reform themselves. That is absolutely the minimum requirement and every intelligent citizen must know that he or she is responsible for the moral well being of society. If for some small purpose, if for some little need, we are willing to adopt a method which is not sound, which is corrupt in its essence, we are corrupting society. Our actions are not isolated. We should remember that not a word is spoken, not a deed is performed which does not leave an indelible mark upon the structure of society. The individual is like a small cell in a bigger organism. If cancer affects certain small cells in the body, sure enough cancer will kill the entire organism, unless that cancer is removed or cured. In a democratic society, people must understand that patriotism does not consist

only in wishing the country well. Without reforming himself, the individual should not hope to build up a noble nation or a great country.

### Basic Characteristics:

There are certain characteristics of democracy which we should try to understand. Democracy, for instance, is workable only in a society where agreement exists upon certain basic problems. If there is no basic agreement, democracy becomes impossible. That is why we find that even the most democratic countries, whenever there is a threat to their accepted ideals, react in what may, at first sight, seem to be a strange manner. I will give you the example of two leading democracies of the world. Take for instance the attitude of the United States of America towards communists and communist propaganda. Normally in a democracy like the United States of America it should be possible for every one to put forward his point of view and try to convert the electorate. But the reaction of the United States of America has been different from this. The reaction has been an acute intolerance of Communist propaganda. Similarly when the Labour Government was in office in the United Kingdom, it took steps to remove the Communist element from their administration. The reasons for these departures from customary democratic practice were that these countries realised that if the basic agreement about the social structure in the country were destroyed, democracy itself would become impossible.

The very essence of democracy is fundamental agreement. Democracy is government by compromise; a method of avoiding conflicts. It is a well-known political proverb that democracy relies upon counting heads to avoid breaking heads; in other words democracy is an effort to carry on government by compromise to avoid conflicts. Even in democracies there are some conflicts, but they are not of basic importance. In basic matters, agreement is absolutely essential. There are instances in recent history where the reactions have been even more extreme, when an attempt has been made to challenge fundamental agreements in the background of the causes of the last war, one would notice that there grew up Fascism in Germany, in Italy and also in Spain. Let us examine the causes of this phenomenon. Whatever may have been the food on which Fascism was led—and there were many forces which built up, for instance the desire for national expansion yet the basic factor which brought Fascism into existence was that the inroad of communism had challenged the basic agreement which had existed between the different

political parties in these countries. And, therefore, the reaction was extreme. It was thought that the best way of fighting a totalitarian method was to adopt another totalitarian method. The spirit of compromise was destroyed, fundamental conflicts came on the scene and had disastrous consequences for the countries concerned and also for the world at large. Therefore, the main problem before any democracy is to find a method of resolving conflicts and these conflicts can be resolved only if certain basic agreements exist. I may add that it is possible to extend the field of basic agreements by assiduous effort.

### **Conflict Resolved Peacefully**

I do not agree with those who think that it is not possible to resolve conflicts by democratic methods. The smooth progress of the United Kingdom illustrates my point. The British spirit of compromise helped the United Kingdom to resolve conflicts at various times in its history. The United Kingdom of today is an infinitely different country, from the social and economic point of view, from the United Kingdom of the pre-war period. And what a distance the United Kingdom has travelled from the days of the Magna Carta! The Magna Carta was a compromise intended to remove the conflict between the interests of the throne and of the barons, the feudal lords. Gradually the Magna Carta became out of date and new adjustments were made with the newly grown commercial classes. Partly by legislation and partly by convention a fully democratic system came into existence. Thus by gradual pressure from one side, and corresponding compromise on the other, the polity was completely reformed. Recently the United Kingdom has changed its very complexion and has become a welfare state, where there has been such a social revolution that it might very well earn the envy of certain other nations where more violent methods were adopted. Even in the achievement of democracy itself, France had to go through all the suffering of the French Revolution. The lesson of the French Revolution was learnt by the British and through adjustment they achieved, without any violence, the same end. This success was the result of the democratic method of counting heads, of trying to resolve conflicts through compromise, and, therefore, it involved much less suffering than it would have otherwise.

### **Expert Advice and Public Opinion**

There is also another problem which faces all democratic countries. The task of administration has become exceedingly complex. Gone are

the days when the functions of the state were limited to a few well defined spheres. Today the state has to administer such a large number of complex subjects that administration has become a highly complicated, highly specialised business. There is, as all of us know, no tyranny greater than that of the expert. In the realm of administration there are so many subjects where the advice of the expert must be accepted that one begins to wonder how far it is possible for public opinion to exercise a control over affairs. The adjustment between expert opinion and public opinion is brought about by democracy. It is quite true that nations, like individuals, cannot ignore the advice of experts; nevertheless it is possible for them to have a national policy. The representatives of the people can say what they would like to be done and leave it to the expert to find the method of doing it. I will give you an example. I may want four thousand houses to be built in the City of Karachi to house the refugees, but I can only tell the expert how many houses I would like to build and how much money I have at my disposal. Beyond that I cannot go. Because it is the duty of the expert to design and build a house for me. If I build a house myself, it would not last any length of time. And that is the essence of the matter. It is important because this adjustment between public opinion and expert opinion has to be brought into effect and it can be done only by one method which is universally accepted. A democratic country should have elected representatives at the top, persons who are in touch with the people, who know their feelings, and who can devise policies which would meet popular demands. A body of well trained expert administrators for the purpose of implementing this policy is equally necessary. It is absolutely essential that the integrity and impartiality of the permanent services must not be interfered with, otherwise democracy is reduced to a farce. It is essential that a person sitting in a judicial capacity, must feel absolutely free to express the opinion that he holds. It is essential that the administrator must hold the balance properly between all sections of the people, and he must be free to disregard any political pressure from whatsoever quarter it comes. At the same time it is essential that he must carry out the policies laid down by the elected representatives of the people. It is only in this way that a healthy democracy can be built up. All politicians who try to interfere with the integrity and impartiality of the services are really digging the grave of democracy. And all public servants who try to meddle in politics are also doing the same. There is a well understood, well defined line of demarcation between the functions of the two, and this demarcation must be respected and maintained. The permanent services are in the position of an instrument, but they do not



constitute an insensate instrument. It is made of human material and, therefore, it is essential that its integrity and impartiality must be maintained.

### The Limitations of Democracy.

Democracy has its limitations, which should be understood. For instance, the progress of reform is always slow in a democratic country. Speed is necessarily greater in a totalitarian country. The reason is that democracy must necessarily be based upon certain basic agreements; democracy must necessarily be government by compromise and not by conflict. If you provoke a conflict you may get the reform, but you may have certain disastrous consequences. Only that reform is permanent, only that reform is effective, only that reform is accepted by the moral consciousness of the people, which is achieved by persuasion. And it is possible to bring about a good measure of reform by persuasion and the pressure of public opinion. By persuasion I do not mean just sugared words. If a class of people are told that if they do not bend, they might have to be ended and by methods which they would not like, that is a method of persuasion. But necessarily it has to be a method of persuasion. I think that in spite of our self-interest we should realise what dangers are involved if at times we do not yield.

There is unfortunately another difficulty which a democracy has to face and every democratic country has to guard against. Political parties like individuals may fall victims to corruption. There have been instances in history where certain interests for the purposes of gaining their point have corrupted entire political parties. Actually, sometimes it has been considered to be legitimate. I know instances in history where certain parties received funds from certain interests for the purpose of putting forward their point of view through the legislature. Even if political parties hold the same views which they asked to propagate, the system is unwholesome and likely to be misused.

Even greater is the danger of the irresponsibility of political parties. Political parties may be responsible; they may be irresponsible. Irresponsible political parties may be in power, they may be in opposition. There have been instances of irresponsible political parties being in power.

One form which the irresponsibility of a political party may assume is extravagance in expenditure to please the electorate, or to undertake reforms which are not justified by the economy of the country. Where

finance is not properly understood, governments are asked to produce miracles. It is generally forgotten that nations and governments have certain limitations imposed by their resources. Any enlightened country has to have sufficient sense of responsibility to see that the economic resources of the country are husbanded in a manner which may produce the best possible results but not strain the economy to an extent that the entire economic structure is demolished.

So far as the question of the irresponsibility of political parties is concerned I could give a large number of instances. There is one code which every party, which finds itself in disagreement with the Government must follow. It must ask itself honestly and sincerely whether it would have been able to solve a problem more efficiently or more quickly than the Government if it were in power. Very little allowance is made in politically immature countries for the difficulties of the government; and sometimes its powers are considered to be unlimited. In this sub-continent in particular our ideas are modelled upon the stories of the ancient monarchs and kings, who were depicted as being able to do anything they pleased. Of course, historically, this is incorrect, but the people have been fed upon fables, not history. It is necessary that our opposition parties observe this code. They must not, at their peril and at the peril of the freedom of country, make any promise to the electorate that they, when they come to power, find it impossible to fulfil. This is a criterion which every responsible political party must keep in view. Vague promises, vague criticism and the creation of discontent never do any polity any good. Criticism of definite policies there must be. No government can claim to have all the fund of wisdom at its command, and a healthy opposition, by pointing out the failure of a government in definite spheres, renders as great a service as the government itself. But it should also be realized that any opposition party which creates discontent for the sake of it or criticises a government for failures beyond its control is playing the devil's game. When I use such a strong term, I mean that they are sowing the seeds of discord, of social eruptions which may please the devil but which cannot but produce the greatest unhappiness. It should be the endeavour of every political party to build up a healthy and responsible society, without which democracy cannot function.

### The Individual and the State.

There are two ideals in political thought which have always been in

for the first time propounded, but perhaps the idealist school of Germany, of the cost of the individual, of the complete purpose of building up a strong state. be an instrument or an organ, it becomes of which the welfare of the individual of every totalitarian country is, in the ty state, at any cost of sacrifice, which a philosophy, but in the building of which at least during the time that the state is acrificed. On the other hand, you may rt of the Individual becomes the sole ideal. of the country are spent in such a way to weaken the state. It is quite obvious unwholesome. It must be realized that th have certain functions.

alysis, is the function of a State ? The te is to serve the individual by securing for which he may rise to his fullest stature. ual, in the ultimate analysis, is to secure immunity from certain dangers through the State. His interest demands that a . protection and create for him an environ- y help him to lead a civilized and beneficial idle to sacrifice the individual for the weaken the state to the extent that the rs. I think that the function of democracy . conflict and to maintain a harmony in the ad, the aim should be not to permit any n the state. The state has to be built up, le individual is not to be completely sacri- doctrine of the golden mean which I am - that, in the world of today, democracy is an.

t of the march of democracy has been the states. Democracy need' as I said earlier, hen these agreements do not exist among

the various nationalities inhabiting a state, democracy brings the conflicts to the foreground, and where it fails to resolve these conflicts, the state breaks up. In countries like Switzerland and Canada, democracy has succeeded in resolving the conflicts. Where democracy has failed in such an attempt or where the plight of the minorities, particularly racial and religious minorities, has not been happy, the result has been that multi-national states have broken up. Take for instance the great Ottoman Empire. The rot set in when first of all the Christian minorities and later on the Arabs themselves wanted to break away from the Empire, because they felt that in such a democracy their interests might not be guarded properly. In Austria-Hungary also, the same process followed, and in our own days it has happened in India as well. It is therefore, more or less of the essence of democracy that such groups as do not find themselves in basic agreement with other groups, generally tend to break away. And democracy, therefore, has resulted in the break up of multi-national states. Those states which have similar problems must keep in mind the fact that they must not permit any majority or effective minority to destroy the basic agreement, otherwise the consequences may be disastrous.

This analysis of democracy has perhaps exposed some of its defects and weaknesses; it has also, I hope, focussed your attention on certain essential requirements. For the latter I offer no apology. So far as the weaknesses and the defects are concerned, I would say that there is no political system, evolved as the result of trial and error, and improved by human thinking, experience and history, which has no defects. It is in the very essence of things that any system which humanity builds up should have some weaknesses, but I hold that in spite of its weaknesses democracy is an ideal worth fighting for and defending; because the essence of all political thought should be to think in terms of human welfare and to avoid human misery to the extent that it can be avoided. The little knowledge that I possess of history, ancient, medieval or modern, leads me to say that one lesson is writ large upon the pages of history; and it is this—through compromise, through understanding, through co-operative effort, societies have been able to achieve the greatest amount of happiness. Through conflicts they may have been able to achieve a point, an ideal, an objective, but it has yet to be demonstrated that through conflict can be won the cherished goal of human happiness.

## الفاظ میں تاریخ

(اردو اور فارسی زبان کے مطالبہ میں پنجابی کی اہمیت)

فقہ اللسان کے عالموں نے بجا طور پر یہ وعدے کیا ہے۔ کہ تاریخی واقعات اور ان واقعات کی ترتیب ایک اہم ماخذ الفاظ ہیں۔ یہاں تک کہ اگر تمام دستاویزی شہادتیں مورخوں کے بیانات کتبات اور آثار قدیمہ کلیتاً غارت ہو جائیں تو بھی الفاظ کے مطالعہ سے بہت سے تاریخی واقعات کا سراغ لگا یا جا سکتا ہے۔ کچھ سال آدھر کی بات ہے چند فارسی الفاظ کی تحقیق کے سلسلے میں مجھے یہ گمان گزرا کہ بعض پنجابی الفاظ کی موجودہ ساخت ان سے اس طرح مشابہ اور اس طرح مختلف ہے کہ یوں معلوم ہوتا ہے گویا پنجابی کے یہ الفاظ ایک طرف ہندی، سنسکرت اور اردو اور دوسری طرف پہلوی اوستا اور فارسی باستان کے درمیان ایک اہم لیکن گم شدہ کڑی کی حیثیت رکھتے ہیں۔ اسکی وجہ ظاہر ہے۔ کہ یہ بات بہ تحقیق مسلم ہو چکی ہے۔ کہ ہندوستان کے آریہ اور ایران کے ایرانی ایک ہی نسل سے تعلق رکھتے ہیں۔ یہ کہنا ابھی تک مشکل ہے کہ آریاؤں کا اصلی وطن کون مقام تھا۔ بحرہ ہند کے ساحلوں سے لے کر بحر منجمد شمالی تک جو مختلف خطے واقع ہیں ان میں سے ہر ایک خطے کو بوجہ مختلف یہی دعویٰ ہے۔ قرین جواب یہ معلوم ہوتا ہے۔ کہ آریاؤں کا سیلاب اپنے وطن مالوف سے جو اسٹا ہے وہ ایران اور ہندوستان میں بہت تھوڑے تفاوت زمانے کے ساتھ داخل ہوا ہے۔ ہندوستان میں یہ داخلہ غالباً افغانستان کے ذریعہ ہوا ہے۔ جو بات کہنے والی ہے وہ یہ ہے۔ کہ ایران اور ہندوستان میں مہاجرت کا یہ ہجوم کم و بیش متوازی ہے۔ سب آگاہ ہیں کہ ایران بھی اسی لئے ایران کہلاتا ہے کہ آریاؤں کا وطن ہے اور ہندوستان یعنی آریہ ورت تو بدھتاً آریائی اقوام کا وطن ہونے کی شہادت دیتا ہے۔ یعنی شہادت لفظی سے ظاہر ہے کہ آریاؤں کا سیلاب ایران اور پنجاب میں نہیں رکا۔ آریاؤں کا پہلا قافلہ افغانستان سے گزر کر سندھ کے میدانوں میں آباد ہوا۔ اس علاقے میں پنجاب بھی شامل ہے۔ اس قافلے کے کچھ لوگ اوز بعد میں آنے والے قافلوں کے اکثر لوگ پنجاب کو معمور پا کر گنگا اور جمنا کے میدانوں کی طرف بڑھتے چلے

گئے۔ لیکن شاید اس میں شک کرنے کی کوئی گنجائش نہیں کہ ہندوں کے قدیم ترین مذہبی صحیفے یعنی رگ وید کے بہت سے حصے اس زمانے کی یاد گار ہیں جو آریاؤں نے پنجاب میں گزارا۔ قیاس چاہتا ہے کہ پنجاب میں پہلے پہل آباد ہونے والے آریائی قبیلے یہاں کی زمینوں کو زرخیز دیکھ کر یہیں رک گئے ہوں اور آگے نہ بڑھے ہوں اور وادی گنگ و جمن کو آباد کرنے والے آریاؤں کے دوسرے ہجوم ہوں۔ پنجاب کا علاقہ سکندر کے حملے کے بعد ایران کے اشکانی اور بقول مورخین ساسانی بادشاہوں کے زیر نگیں بھی رہا ہے۔ یعنی اس علاقے کا کچھہ جزوان وجوہات کی بنا پر پنجاب کی اصلی اور قدیمی زبان کو جسے قدیم پنجابی کہنا موزوں ہوگا فقہ اللسان کے مطالعات میں ایک خاص اہمیت حاصل ہو گئی ہے۔ بالفاظ دیگر قدیم پنجابی کے الفاظ ایک طرف بہ خط مستقیم پہلوی اوستا اور فارسی باستان سے اپنا رشتہ جوڑتے ہیں اور دوسری طرف آریاؤں کی ان شستہ اور رفتہ زبانوں سے مشابہ ہیں جنہیں سنسکرت اور ہندی کہا جاتا ہے اور ان کی ساخت وادی گنگ و جمن میں جا کر اصل آریائی لفظوں سے مختلف ہو گئی ہے۔ جوں جوں آریا پنجاب سے آگے بڑھتے چلے گئے ان کی تہذیب اور ان کی زبان بوجہ معلوم پنجابی کی زبان اور تہذیب سے قدرے مختلف ہوتی چلی گئی۔ صرف پنجاب ایک ایسا خطہ تھا جو لسانی اور تمدنی طور پر ایک طرف ایران سے دوسری طرف پرانے آریائی آبا و اجداد سے اور تیسری طرف وادی گنگ و جمن کے آریاؤں سے رشتہ جوڑتا تھا۔ قدیم پنجابی کے الفاظ بیشتر ایسے ہیں کہ آریائی الفاظ کی قدیم ترین شکلوں سے مشابہ ہیں اور ان کے مطالعہ ہی سے یہ حقیقت واضح ہوتی ہے کہ پنجاب کی تمدنی اور لسانی کیفیات میں کتنا ٹہراؤ ہے۔ بعض اوقات آریائی الفاظ کی اوستائی اور سنسکرتی شکلوں میں مشابہت بالکل مفقود نظر آتی ہے لیکن جب اس لفظ کی ابتدائی پنجابی شکل سامنے آتی ہے تو اوستا پہلوی اور سنسکرت کی یگانگت کا سراغ ہی نہیں بلکہ ثبوت بھی ملتا ہے۔ پنجاب اور قدیم پنجابی کی یہ عجیب و غریب خصوصیت واضح کرنے کے لئے میں کچھہ آریائی الفاظ کے مختلف تغیرات اور ان کی پنجابی وضع دکھاتا ہوں۔

کلمہ آواز پر غور کیجئے - اس کی داستان دراز ہے - اس کا اوستائی مادہ وچ ہے سنسکرت واج ہے پہلوی واجک ہے لاطینی vox ہے - انگریزی اور فرانسیسی لفظ voici اسی سے ہیں ملاحظہ کیجئے کہ اوستا کا وچ اور سنسکرت کا واج اور پہلوی کا واجک وہی لفظ ہے - جو پنجابی میں اب تک واج ، ہے - اس پر بھی غور فرمائیں گے - کہ ہندی لفظ وچن اور بچن اسی مادہ واج سے برآمد ہوا ہے - اس قوم کے تمدن کا بھی اندازہ کر لیجئے جو بات کرنے کو اتنی اہمیت دیتی ہے کہ ادھر سنہ سے بات کہی اور وہ بچن و وچن یا قول اور عہد و پیمان بن گئی - فارسی جدید میں اس لفظ کی شکل جیسا کہ سب جانتے ہیں آواز ہے اس الف پر یہ شبہ نہ ہو کہ نافیہ ہے یا معنی خیز سابقہ ہے - یہ صرف سہولت تلفظ کے لئے فارسی میں کبھی اضافہ کر دیا جاتا ہے اور کبھی گرادیا جاتا ہے - جیسے شتر اور اشتر - سکندر اور اسکندر - پنجابی میں جو لفظ واج ہے وہ اپنی قدیم شکل میں قائم ہے - قدیم پنجابی اس پر الف کا اضافہ کبھی نہیں کریگی اور یوں قدیم پنجابی کا کلمہ واج وچن اور وچ اور واجک کے درمیان دائماً ایک درمیانی کڑی بن کے قائم رہیگا - اب کلمہ پیار پر غور کیجئے - پنجابی میں ہندی میں اردو میں اس کلمے کی یہی شکل ہے - اس لفظ کا مادہ اور ریشہ فری ہے اور اس کے معنی ہیں درست رکھنا تعریف کرنا تحسین کرنا - پڑھنا اور پیدا کرنا - فارسی اور اردو میں اس مادے کے مشتقات دیکھئے - مصدر آفریدن اس سے ہے - آفریدگار خالق ہے - آفریں تعریف و تحسین کو کہتے ہیں یعنی جب آپ سے کوئی وہ سلوک کرتا ہے جو دوست کرتا ہے تو آپ اسے آفریں کہتے ہیں - نفرین بھی اسی آفرین کی ضد ہے - پہلا نون نافیہ ہے - یورپ کی بیشتر زبانوں میں یہی مادہ فری اسی صورت میں قائم ہے اور بیش و کم ہر جگہ دوستی کے معنی کی جھلک ضرور دکھاتا ہے - انگریزی لفظ Friend اصلاً Freond تھا Freond کا تجربہ کرنے سے معلوم ہوگا کہ حسب توقع مرکب ہے اور فری پر جوڑ ہے - فری ( Fre ) دوستی ، پیار اور ond لاحقہ ہے جسکی شکل انت وند اور مند بھی ہے مثلاً - نہروند - تنووند - بلووند - جسوند - ستوند - یہی وند یا وند برائی آریائی زبانوں کا ond یا وند ہے - تو Freond وہ شخص ہے جو آپ

سے دوستی رکھنے ف اور پ کا تبادلہ آریائی زبانوں میں عام ہے۔ جیسے  
 فرتاب پرتاب۔ سنسکرت میں کلمہ فری کی شکل پری ہے اسی سے ہریتم اور  
 ہریت اور پیا اور پریا اور پیار برآمد ہوتے ہیں کہ انتہائے دوستی  
 پیار ہی ہو سکتا ہے فارسی میں قدیم آریائی یعنی بنیادی شکل صرف فری  
 کے مادے کے مشتق کے ساتھ قائم رہی پیار کا لفظ رائج نہ ہو سکا  
 لیکن پنجابی ہریت اور پریماتی اور دوسری طرف Friend اور آفریں کے  
 درمیان پیار کے کلمہ کو اختیار کر کے بیٹھ گئی اور اردو نے بجنسہ یہ  
 کلمہ اختیار کر لیا۔ ہندی نے ہریت کو ترجیح دی کہ اصل مادے سے  
 قریب تر تھا۔ بہر حال پنجابی پھر بھی قدیم سکوں کے درمیان واسطہ بنی  
 رہی۔

اب داتا کے کلمہ پر غور کیجئے۔ فردوسی کہتا ہے۔

جہاں را ہمہ سوئے داد آمدم چون از نام دادار باد آمدم  
 داد اور دادار دونوں کا مادہ دا ہے اور اس کے معنی ہیں دینا اور پیدا کرنا۔  
 داورت کا تبادلہ آریائی زبانوں میں عام ہے۔ چنانچہ فارسی جدید کا دادار  
 اوستا میں دادر ہے۔ ایران کے قدیم ناموں میں اس کی شکل دانہ بھی ملتی  
 ہے۔ جسکا ترجمہ ادبیات میں لاحقہ یار سے کرتے ہیں۔ مثلاً اہور۔  
 مزدہ۔ داتہ۔ اہور مزدیار۔ رشی دانہ۔ ہوسیار۔ بختودانہ۔ بختیار۔ اسی  
 مادہ دا سے کلمہ داد برآمد ہوا ہے۔ جس کے معنی تحفے۔ عطیے اور  
 بخشش کے بھی ہیں۔ اس کے معنی انصاف بھی ہیں کہ دادار سے انصاف  
 کے سوا اور کسی چیز کی توقع نہیں ہو سکتی بغداد میں یہی داد ہے۔  
 بمعنی داد بخ۔ خداؤں کا عطیہ دیوتاؤں کا تحفہ یہاں پر قدیم ایام سے  
 دیوی استری یا ناہید کا مندر چلا آتا تھا۔ اور اس مندر کی عظمت اور شکوہ  
 کی بنا پر سہر کو عطیہ خداوندی یا دیوتاؤں کا بسایا ہوا سہر کہتے  
 تھے۔ لغات میں جو باع داد اور نوسیرواں کا قصہ مندرج ہے۔ قطعاً بے  
 اصل و بے بیاد ہے۔ منشا کہنے کا یہ تھا کہ داد اور دات ایک ہی  
 کلمہ ہے۔ فارسی جدید میں فقط داد ہے۔ ہندی میں دینے والا اور سخی  
 داتا ہے۔ یہ وہی پہلوی کا دادر ہے۔ پنجابی نے داد کی قدیم شکل یعنی  
 دات کے ایک طرف پہلوی سے اور اوستا سے اور دوسری طرف ہندی اور



سنسکرت سے رشتہ جوڑتی ہے قائم رکھی - چنانچہ پنجابی میں انعام کو بخشش کو اور باپ کی طرف سے لڑکی کو جو تحفے دئے جاتے ہیں اسے دات اور دت دات کہتے ہیں دیکھئے یہاں بھی قدیم پنجابی نے جدید فارسی کی د کی بجائے ت اختیار کی جو ہندی کے داتا اور پہلو، کے داتر میں مشترک ہے - اب کلمہ باد پر غور کیجئے - اوستا میں اس کی شکل وات اور واتہ ہے - پہلوی میں وات ہے قدم آریائی زبانوں میں ایک کلمہ وایو بھی ہے - سنسکرت میں بھی واتہ اور وایو موجود ہیں پہلوی میں وایو بھی ایک کلمہ ہے جس کے معنی فرہنگ آویزان بتاتے ہیں - دروا اور اند روا آویزاں کے معنی میں اسی پہلوی وایو سے برآمد ہوتے ہیں - لیکن دراصل اس کے معنی ہیں در ہوا - اوستا میں واتہ باد ہے یعنی ہوا - اب دیکھئے اردو میں ہوا کا کلمہ حقیقت میں وایو ہی کی ایک شکل ہے اور وایو سے قریب تر ہے لیکن پنجابی میں یہ کلمہ قریب قریب اپنی اصل شکل میں قائم ہے یعنی وا اور واہ - یہاں بھی اردو کا لفظ ہوا وایو کے ساتھ یعنی پہلوی اور سنسکرت کے ساتھ مشابہت دکھاتا ہے لیکن بہت کم لیکن پنجابی کا کلمہ وھا وہ اصل ہے جس سے ہوا برآمد ہوا ہے - ہ کو ماقب سے مخلوط کر کے پڑھنا پنجابی سے خاص ہے اردو کے حروف تہجی میں یہ صورت نہیں ہے - چنانچہ پنجابی وھا کے کلمے میں یہ تغیر کیا گیا کہ ہ کی آواز جو واؤ کے بعد آتی تھی اسے اردو میں واؤ سے پہلے دکھایا گیا بہ الفاظ دیگر اردو ہوا قدیم کلمہ واہ کی بگڑی ہوئی شکل ہے - مراد یہ میں لسانی نقطہ نظر سے کہہ رہا ہوں یہ مراد نہیں ہے کہ پنجابی کو تقدم زمانی حاصل ہے اور اردو کے بہت سے کلمات کی اصل کا سراغ بھی وہی دیتی ہے - پنجابی کے مرکب کلمے وھا وردوا میں بھی یہی کلمہ وھا موجود ہے - اردو میں وایو کی ایک شکل باؤ ہے بمعنی ہوا لیکن یہ صرف مرکبات میں ملتی ہے جسے باؤ گولا - پنجابی باؤ کی شکل بائی ہے اور اس کے ریح کے ہیں -

اب میں صرف ایک اور کلمے کا ذکر کرونگا اور وہ سوگند ہے - آپ آگاہ ہیں کہ سوگند کے ساتھ فارسی میں خوردن استعمال ہوتا ہے یعنی سوگند کھانا - اس قیاس پر قسم کھانا بھی ہے - ایران قدیم میں دستور تھا

کہ ملزموں کے بیابان کی توثیق کے لئے موبدوں کے حضور میں ملزموں کو آزمائش میں مبتلا کرتے۔ فردوسی 'بہ آتش رفتن سیاوش' کی داستان بیاں کرتا ہے۔

سوگند کھانے کی داستان یہ ہے کہ جب موبد کسی معاملے میں کسی فیصلے پر نہ پہنچ سکتے تھے تو مدعی کو یا مدعا علیہ کو مستغیث کو یا ملزم کو پانی میں گندھک ملا کر پلاتے تھے۔ اسے سوگند دادن یا سوگند خورائیدن کہتے تھے۔ اوستا میں یہ کلمہ یعنی کلمہ سوگند سوکت کی شکل میں آیا ہے۔ سوکت کے معنی گندھک کے ہیں۔ ب کا تبادلہ د سے اور ک کا تبادلہ گ سے عام ہے۔ سوکت بظاہر مرکب معلوم ہوتا ہے۔ لیکن میں اس کی تحقیق نہیں کر سکا۔ اسدی اس حرف کا ذکر نہیں کرتا۔ باقی لغات تو اس کی اصلیت سے آگاہ ہی ہیں۔ قیاس چاہتا ہے کہ سوکت میں جوڑ یا سو + کن یا سوک + انب ہو بہر حال اردو نے سوگند کی جگہ بیشتر قسم کو اختیار کر لیا لیکن پنجابی اب تک سون کے کلمے میں سوگند کے پہلے جزو کو قائم رکھے ہوئے ہے۔ اور مجھے اس قدیم پنجابی لفظ سے یہ گمان گزرا ہے۔ کہ اس کا مادہ یا سو ہو یا سوک ہو۔

اس مقالے میں میں نے جگہ جگہ حوالے نہیں دئے ہیں لیکن اب اختتام پر اپنے اہم منابع کا ذکر کرتا ہوں۔ قرہنگ آندراج۔ انجمن آرائے ناصری۔ ہفت قلزم۔ بہار عجم۔ لغت فرس۔ برہان قاطع۔ سخندان پارس آزاد۔ ۱ سرگزشت الفاظ۔ احمد دین۔ ۲ مجموعہ انجمن ایران شناسی۔ شماره ایک۔ حماسہ سرائے دربارین ذبیح اللہ صفات۔ مزد لینا محمد معین۔ سبک شناسی ملک الشعرا بہار۔ نثر فارسی محاصر۔ ایرج افشار۔ پنجاب میں اردو محمود شیرانی۔ دانش یادگار۔ مجلہ مہر اور ارمغان۔

- (1) Dictionary of word origins-heply.
- (2) Universal English Dictionary-Wyld
- (3) History of Indian Homeland.
- (4) History of Urdu Literature-Baily.
- (5) Cambridge History of India.

# SUPPLEMENT



## DAIBUL\*

BY

ALLAMA SYED SULAIMAN NADVI

### Name

Daibul was the wellknown port of Sind, lying on the line of its maritime communications. The provisions and military equipment which had come from Iraq for Muhanımud bin Qāsim had passed through this port. In Arabic histories it has been called Daibul while in Persian works it is written as Daibal or Dewal.

I am not in a position to say authoritatively why this place was called Daibul or Dewal ; but it occurs to me that in the Deccan and Poona district a temple is known as *Dewal* or a place of the gods. The city of Daibul had a big house of worship, and it is not improbable that this might have been the reason for the place being called by this name. In Hindi the letters ड and ढ are interchangeable, as for instance *debi* and *devi* have the same meaning.

It is possible that in regard to superstitious offerings for the safety of sea-borne commerce the position of this place of worship might have been similar to that of the temple of Somnath at the port of that name.

This temple has been mentioned by Balādhurī (A. H. 247) and the author of the *Chachnamah* in connection with the account of the Arab conquests. It has been stated that the temple was very big and had a lofty pillar or tower of wood. To this pillar was tied a huge piece of cloth which when flying in the air threw its shadow over a large part of the city.

On the basis of the study of the main features of this temple as given in the earlier histories I have come to the conclusion that it was a *temple* and have described it as such in my book "*Arab-o-Hind*". Balādhurī says, "There was a big idol in Daibul on a lofty pillar. It had a large flag which used to fly over the temple, the blowing of the winds. People say that this is a big pillar, standing up in an edifice or which contains an idol. Sometimes the idol is in the tower. That thing which is used in worship is called an idol."

\* This paper was originally written in 1911.

† *Futuh ul Buldan*, Cairo ed. p. 442

### A centre of pirates

Besides being an emporium of sea-borne trade this port was also a centre of piracy. In the middle of the first century of the *hijri* era frequent fleets of Arab merchantmen used to touch the ports of the Persian Gulf, the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean. Some of them went as far as Ceylon which was called by the name of the *Jaziratul yaqut*. The ruler of this island had, as a gesture of friendship, sent to Iraq some women who had become widows or had lost their parents. When the boat carrying these women arrived near the coast of Sind the pirates fell upon it and carried its occupants as captives. At this time Hajjāj bin Yūsuf Thaqafī was governor of Iraq. It is stated that one of the captive women besought his help in the course of her bewailings. When the news reached Hajjāj he replied almost spontaneously, "Wait, I am coming to thy help." Without losing time he sent a message to Raja Dāhir of Sind to have the captives released and sent to Iraq. Dāhir replied that they were in the hands of the pirates who were beyond his control. Hajjāj refused to accept this plea and despatched one of his officers. He failed to achieve his object and was slain in the attempt. Hajjāj now sent a detachment of his forces, which was stationed at 'Amman and was under the command of Budāil'bin Tuhfa. The latter also met with failure and was captured and slain by the enemy on account of losing control of his horse and falling down from its back. Perhaps both these expeditions had come by sea; and since they had ended in failure it was considered advisable that a full-fledged campaign of Sind instead of an attack on Daibul should be undertaken and that the army should go by the land-route. Accordingly orders were issued to Muhammad bin Qāsim who was in command of the forces stationed in Persia to proceed towards Sind. Muhammad bin Qāsim was only seventeen years old at this time as is evident from the following couplet of a poet who has composed it in praise of the young general.

ساس البلاد سبع عشرة حجة " ولداته عن ذاك فى اشتغال

### Translation

(He entered politics at the age of seventeen when people are negligent of such things).

It would be worth while to consider two points in this connection. When a nation is at the height of its power and glory every individual belonging to it is held in great respect. The appeal of an ordinary woman

can move the whole nation and the most youthful of its members can show great enthusiasm and determination and prove that they possess noble qualities of courage and bravery.

The existence of the pirates of Sind referred to above can be traced till the fourth century of the *hijri* era, for we find them mentioned by Al-Birūnī in his *Kitābul-hind*.

The town of Daibul was inhabited by traders, businessmen, and artisans<sup>1</sup> mostly belonging to the Mede<sup>2</sup> tribe, which has been repeatedly mentioned by the historians of Sind.

### Conquest of Daibul

As has been stated above the two attempts made by the Arabs to attack Daibul by sea had ended in failure. Muhammad bin Qāsim therefore decided to march by land and took possession of Makrān, Qambarpur and Armāil on his way to Daibul. It was on a Friday that reinforcements for Muhammad bin Qāsim arrived at Daibul.<sup>3</sup> He ordered a ditch to be dug near the city and had his lances posted on it. The Arab military equipments had a new weapon known as *manjaniq*. This was the Arabic form of the Roman 'mechanic'; but the Persian lexicographers have guessed it to be "*man che nek*". It was used for battering the fortresses and was, so to say, the earliest form of a *cannon*. Huge blocks of stones were put into these *manjaniqs* and by means of a wheel were hurled at the walls of the fort with such violence that they would break into pieces and fall down. The *manjaniq* used in the siege of Daibul was known as the '*Urus*' and is stated to have been worked by five hundred men. It took three days for a letter from Hajjāj to reach Muhammad bin Qāsim, and this was in those days a remarkable achievement in postal communication. Muhammad bin Qāsim had sent a detailed plan of the impending battle to his master. The latter's reply contained these instructions: "Fix the *manjaniq*, known as '*Urus*', on the eastern side and make a target of the lofty tower which you have mentioned".

This order was carried out with the result that the tower fell down, making the enemy panicky. The inhabitants of Daibul had taken shelter in the fort, but the Arabs now succeeded in climbing over its walls and opening its gates. The battle lasted three days after which the city was captured by the Arabs. Two priests are said to have been killed in this action.

<sup>1</sup> *Futuhul Buldan*, Cairo ed. p. 441.

<sup>2</sup> *Chuchnamah*, Bombay ed. p. 112 ; *Ahsanul taqasim* of Bashshari, p. 483.

<sup>3</sup> *Futuhul Buldan*, Cairo ed. p. 442.

Muhammed bin Qāsim ordered the construction of a mosque and separate quarters for the 4,000 Muslims who were to be settled there.<sup>1</sup>

The tower of Daibul was a regular building, and<sup>1</sup> most probably this *minaratul budd* was a Buddhist stupa. For a long time it remained in a ruined state, and it was in the time of Caliph Mu'tasim billāh that his governor, 'Utbah bin Ishaq, had it repaired and converted into a prison house.

#### Daibul's population

Mu'tasim billāh was followed by Mu'tadid<sup>1</sup> billah. It was during his reign that in *shawwal*, 280 A.H. Daibul witnessed a lunar eclipse and was shaken by a terrible earthquake in which one hundred and fifty thousand people lost their lives.<sup>2</sup> It is obvious that the population of the city must have been several lakhs. In 375 A. H. the Arab traveller Bashshārī al Maqdisī, visited Daibul. He says that it was a port which had a hundred villages situated near it on all sides. The waves of the ocean came right up to the walls of the town. According to him most of its inhabitants were non-Muslims. They were traders and businessmen and spoke Arabic and Sindhi languages. It had a large revenue because it is a sea-port.<sup>3</sup>

#### Site of Daibul

About Daibul the most difficult problem is that of its original site. On examining the relevant passages in the Arabic and Persian works I find that Daibul passed through a great revolution about the year 1,000 A.H. Till 967 the town could be located and its port was used for purposes of commerce.

I am giving below a few relevant passages from original authorities relating to the site of Daibul:

In 250 A. H. Ibn Khurdāzbeh wrote in his book, *Al Masalik wal mamalik*:

"Daibul is eight days journey from Thārāh, and the distance from Daibul to the delta of Mehrān is two *farsangs*." Thārāh was on the border of Persia on the side of Sind.

In 330 A. H. Ibn-ul Faqih wrote in his book, *Kitābul buldan*: "The great ocean which takes a turn from the Red Sea and the Wādi-ul Qur'ā (Gulf of 'Aqbah) and reaches the Barbary and 'Ammān touches Daibul and Multan". (P. 7).

<sup>1</sup> *Futuhul Buldan*, Cairo ed p. 443.

<sup>2</sup> *Tarikhul Khulafa*, Suyuti, Calcutta ed. p. 380.

<sup>3</sup> *Ahsanut-taqasim fi ma' rifatul aqalim*, Bashshari, p. 183.



Istakhrī of Baghdad wrote in his *Musalik-ul-Mamalik* in 340 A. H. "Daibul is situated to the west of Mehrān (The Indus) towards the sea. It is a port and an emporium of trade in this country. Cultivation is on a modest scale, most of the trees being those of date palm. Its inhabitants do not have necessities of life in plentitude; its population is due to trade".

Abu Muhammad Hasan Hamdānī says in his book :

"Bābul (Iraq)—its boundaries are these: first boundary is Thā'labh in the country of Arabia, the second boundary is the bank of the river (near) Balkh, the third boundary is Nisibīn in Syria and the fourth boundary is Daibul (in the direction of Hindustan)" (P. 483).

Mas'ūdī who visited this country in 304 A. H. gives the following boundaries in his *Murujudh-dhahab* : "Passing beyond the five rivers of the Punjab and through Multan and then through Doshab which is between Multan and Mansūrah, when the river reaches Arur in the jurisdiction of Mansūrah at a distance of three days journey from Multan, it gets the name of Mehrān. From here it divides into two parts and both these parts enter the town of Shakirah, which is in the jurisdiction of Mansūrah, and falls into the sea. This place is at a distance of two days journey from Daibul".

My friend, Dr. Daudpota, has quoted the above passage in his *ta'liqat* of the *Tarikh-i-M'sumi* and the *Chachnamah* and has indentified Shākīrāh with Mirpur Sakra. This shows that it was at a distance of twelve days journey from the coast of the sea.

Yaqūt Hamawī, the author of the biggest geographical dictionary in Arabic, *M'jamul buldan*, who lived in 626 A. H. speaks of the site of Daibul in these words : "Daibul is a well-known town on the coast of the Indian Ocean. This Daibul is in the second *iqlim* and is situated on 92.207 w. and 24.20 s. It is a port, and the rivers coming from Lahore and Multan fall into the sea here. Some of the narrators of *hadith* are stated to have been connected with it. (Vol. IV. p. 118).

In his book on the geography of heavenly bodies—*Taqwīmūl Buldan*—which was compiled about 732 A.H. Abul Fidā writes : "Daibul is on the banks of the river Indus and is a port. It is a small town and imports dates from Basra. Ibn Hauqal says that "Daibul is on the bank of a river ; it is the port of this country and lies to the east of Mehrān or the Indus". The *Lubab* says that it lies on the Indian ocean and is near Sind. Ibn Sa'īd says that it was situated on land in the gulf of Sind and the commodities of trade that came from there are known as Daibulī. It was the biggest and the most well-known of the ports of Sind. The distance between Daibul and Mansūrah was equal to six stages and between

Daibul and Nirūn the distance was equal to four stages. According to Idrīsī, "the distance between Daibul and the place where Indus falls into the sea is equal to three stages, and it lies in the middle of the road to Mansūrah".

The Arab sailors used to visit this place till the beginning of the tenth century and were acquainted with its name and site.

Sulaiman Mehri who was a sailor, living near Yemen, and is the author of some works on maritime subjects wrote a book named *Al-Umdatul Mehriah fi dabtul 'ulum-ul bahriah* in 917 A. H. It mentions the routes to the ports which were visited by the Arab sailors, and describes in that connection the route from Aden to Daibul and also from Dip to Daibul.

Now, we reproduce relevant passages from Persian historical works.

The *Tarikh-i-Tahiri* which was composed in 1030 A. H. says :

ما بین شهر ٹھٹہ و بندرچہ تری و چہ خشکی دو روزه راه راست و از آنجا دریائے سوری یک منزل هست اما ناله باریک که آن را به زبان ٹھٹہ نارقی نامند برآمده زیر بندر مذکور می رسد بعرض بعضی جاده طناب و بعض پیشین و عمقی از اندازه پایاب در میان بحر سوی میانی (سون میانی؟) نام دیگر آبادانی نیست، (تعلیقات چچنامہ ڈاکٹر داود پوٹہ صفحہ ۲۵۳)

‘Ali Sher wrote his *Tuhfatul Kiram* in 1181. Speaking of the *Sayyids* of Māzandrān he says “.

اول ایشان سید بدرالدین بعد نعل از ما زندران به زیارت عتبات عالیاب مترف شد در سال نهصد و شصت و هفت براه دریائے عمان وارد بندر دیول و متوجه توطن ٹھٹہ شد - چون به قریه حاله واقعه سا کوره رسیدا رحل اقامت دوام آنجا ییگند

On page 254, as has been mentioned by Dr. Daud-pota in the *ta'liqat* of *Chachnamah*, we have the following account :

”مخفی نمائند که بندر لاهری که در قدیم زمان به بندر دیول اشتہار داشت غریب شهرے مسکن اشراف کرام و افاضل ایام بود - اکنون از چند سال (یعنی قبل از سنہ ۱۱۸۱ سنہ تالیف کتاب تحفۃ الکرام) به سبب حوادث دارمعد دیار معدوم و تتمہ آبادیش منتقل زمین محاذی دھاراجہ است -

The references given above clearly show that Daibul did not lie on the coast of the sea, but at some distance from the place where the Indus falls into the sea, and also that it was near Thatta.

Abul Fadl corroborates this. The fact that it is at a distance of three stages from the place where the Indus falls into the sea has been mentioned above. Yaqūt has given its longitude and latitude also, but it is difficult to determine its actual site, because we do not know their basis.

### Destruction of Daibul

From these references it appears that before the twelfth century of the *hijri* era, as is mentioned in the passage quoted above from the *Tuhfatul Kiram*, Daibul's population had been destroyed. The words of the *Ain-i-Akbari* that Daibul was known by the name of Thatta prove that it had lost its reputation as early as the age of Akbar.

The historians do not mention the causes of its destruction. I believe that it occurred at the time when the Portuguese and other European sailors obtained supremacy in the eastern waters and expelled the Arab merchants from Surat and Chatgam, etc. The position of Calicut, Surat and Chatgam were taken by Madras, Bombay and Calcutta respectively ; similarly Daibul had to give its place to Karachi. Another reason probably lay in the fact that the sail boats of the Arabs preferred places which lay on rivers and were not far from where they entered the ocean to actual ports on the coast of the sea. Just as in Gujrat they would prefer to anchor at Surat on the Narbada, so in Sind they preferred Daibul on the Indus to anchoring at a place situated on the sea-coast. When the European sailors started anchoring in the deep waters of the sea the old harbours were naturally abandoned.

### Relics of Muslim culture in Daibul

Daibul had a Buddhist temple. It has been stated above that Muhammad bin Qāsim colonized 4000 Muslims there and constructed a mosque for them. It has also been mentioned that in the 4th century Arabic was spoken here along with Sindhi. The Arabic speaking people must have been the old Arab families or sailors who came from Iraq and other Arab coastal territories. In the sixth century a mosque was built in Daibul by Khwārazm Shāh who had captured this place on arriving in Sind after his defeat at the hands of the Tartars. Yaqūt says that Daibul had produced some narrators of *hadith*, meaning perhaps the *Muhaddithin*. Sam'ānī has mentioned the following names of the *Muhaddithin* and narrators of *hadith* who lived in Daibul :

Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm Daibuli ; Shu'aib bin Muhammad Daibuli ; 'Abul 'Abbas Muhammad bin Muhammad Daibuli ; Muhammad bin Hasan Karmānī Daibuli ; Ahmad bin 'Abdullah Daibuli, etc. These names show that Islamic learning flourished in this town.

## MOTI MASJID OR THE PEARL MOSQUE IN THE LAHORE FORT

BY

MAULVI ZAFAR HASAN, O.B.E., LAHORE

The *Moti Masjid* in the Lahore Fort is believed to have been constructed by the Emperor Jahāngīr. There are three other mosques of this name, viz., the *Moti Masjid* in the Agra Fort built by the Emperor Shāhjahān in 1063 A. H. (1654 A. D.), that in the Delhi Fort built by the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1070 A. H. (1659 A. D.) and the third at the tomb of the saint Qutb-ud-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī in Mehrauli near Delhi, built by the Emperor Shāh'Alam Bahādur Shāh (1707-12 A. D.). All these mosques are built of white marble or, to be more accurate, have marble veneer of facing and on account of their being white they are called *Moti Masjid*; *Moti* being proverbial for whiteness in Urdu.

Literally *Masjid* means a place of *sajdah* (prostration) which forms the principal part of *salat* or *namaz*; hence any place or building dedicated for *namaz* is called *Masjid* (mosque). Islam does not prescribe any particular form for mosque. The original mosque constructed by the Prophet consisted of an enclosure surrounded by a mud wall and a shed thatched with the leaves of palm tree. Apparently the wall was intended for privacy and the shed for shelter to worshippers from the inclemencies of weather, the courtyard being also a necessity for open air worship in the morning and evening during hot season. The main principles governing the construction of a mosque are privacy and comfort to worshippers and therefore there could not be any standard form of it suitable for the whole Muslim world which embraced regions varying in climate. Accordingly it is noticed that in cold countries the whole space assigned to a mosque is covered by roof, while in the tropics that space is appropriated partly for an open courtyard and partly for roofed structures. At the same time all the mosques, whether in cold countries or tropical ones, contain more or less features which are characteristic of the Islamic architecture, such as domes, vaults, arches, *mihrahs* (arched recesses), *mimbars* (pulpits), minarets, etc., In this subcontinent which is a tropical country the general plan of a mosque consists of an open rectangular courtyard enclosed by a prayer chamber on the west, the direction of the *qiblah*, and a cloister or a wall on the north, south and east. The prayer



## MOTI MASJID OR THE PEARL MOSQUE IN THE LAHORE FORT

BY

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# LAHORE FORT

## PLAN OF MOTI MOSQUE WITH MAKTAB KHANA

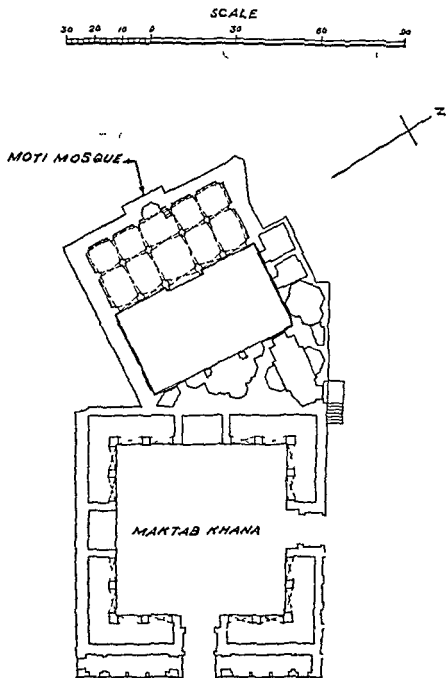


PLATE II . Plan of Moti Masjid, Lahore Fort.



chamber has three or more arched openings, usually in odd number, and its west wall bears *mihrab* recesses opposite to the arched openings. Adjacent to the central *mihrab* on its north stands the *mimbar*. The roof is ornamented with domed *chhatries* (Kiosks) or *guldastas* (pinnacles). The principal mosque of a city or town, the *Jam' Masjid*, having extensive dimensions and elaborately constructed, is roofed with domes and vaults and contains also minarets, a *mukabbar* (an elevated platform on which one of the worshippers following the *Imam* repeats the prescribed formulas of the *namaz* for the guidance of the congregation), a tank in the centre of the courtyard for ablutions and *maqsurahs* or *hijabis* (screened compartments reserved for the use of rulers and their retinues of ladies) at one or both the north and south ends of the prayer chamber. Such a mosque is usually provided with entrances or portals in keeping with the structure on the east, north and south.

Before describing the *Moti Masjid*, which forms the subject of this thesis, it seems desirable to relate briefly the history of the fort where the mosque lies. The fort claims great antiquity and is stated to have been constructed of mud. Akbar demolished the old mud fort and rebuilt it with burnt bricks in lime with a gateway to the east which is called the *Masti Gate*. He also built in it a palace, including the *Diwan-i-'Am* which was called *Daulat Khana-i-Khas-o-'Am*, and consisted of a balcony with an open courtyard enclosed by a range of vaulted chambers and entered through central gateways on the east, west and south (See plan of the Fort plate I). This spacious cloister does not exist, having been demolished during the British occupation of the fort for military purposes.

Jahāngīr extended Akbar's palace and made additions and alterations to it. A marble slab fixed over the arched entrance of the so-called *Maktab Khanah* bears an inscription recording the completion of the royal palace in the 12th year of Jāhangīr's reign under the supervision of M'mūr Khān. The inscription runs as follows:—

یہ سال دوازدہم از جلوس مقدس بندگان عالی حضرت شاہنشاہ،  
 فضل اللہ، سلیمان بیاء کیومرث بارگہ، سکندر سیاہ، خلافت بناہ، نورالدین  
 پادشاہ ابن جلال الدین اکبر بادشاہ غازی مطابق سال ہزار و بیست و ہفت  
 ہجری عمارت این دولتخاںہ ہمایوں باہتمام کمترین مریدان و غلامان  
 قدوسی معصور بن صورت اتمام پزیرفت۔

*Translation.*

"In the 12th year of the blessed accession of His Imperial Majesty the Emperor, the shadow of God, a Solomon in dignity, a Kaimurth in state, an Alexander in arms, the asylum of the caliphate, the King Nūr-ud-dīn Ghāzī, corresponding to 1027 Hijri (1617-18-A.D.), the building of this auspicious palace was brought to completion under the supervision of his most humble disciple and slave, the devoted servant M'mūr Khan".

Evidently the *Maktab Khanah* was a gateway to the palace referred to in the inscription, and as such, it formed a part of it together with the neighbouring buildings which have mostly disappeared. Three years later Jahāngīr visited the Fort and took his residence in the palace which was built for him. He makes the following remarks in his diary about its buildings.

روز دوشنبه نهم اذر ماه الهی مطابق پنجم محرم سنه یکهزار  
وسی و یک از باغ مومن خان برفیل اندر نام سوار شده نثارکنان  
متوجه شهر گردید و بعد از گذشتن سه پهر دو گهڑی از روز در ساعت  
مسعود مختار بدولت خانه درآمده درعمارات که مجدداً باهتمام معمورخان  
حسن انجام پذیرفته بمبارکی و فرخی نزول فرمود و بے تکلف منازل دلکشا  
و نشیمن هائے روح افزا در غایت لطافت و نزاهت همه منتقش و  
مصور بعمل اوستادان نادره کار آراستگی یافته باغهای سبز خرم بانواع  
و اقسام گل و ریاحین نظر فریب گشته .  
زفرق تا بقدم هر کجا که می نگرم کرشمه دامن دل میکشد که جاینباست

*Translation.*

"On Monday the 9th of the month of Azar of the Ilāhi era, corresponding to the 5th of Muharram, the year one thousand and thirty one, I rode from the garden of Momin Khān on an elephant named Inder, and scattering money went in the direction of the city. After the lapse of three *pahars* and two *gharis* of that day I entered the palace at an auspicious and approved hour, and found a joyful and blessed lodging in the buildings built anew under the supervision of M'mūr Khān. It may be readily said that these delightful buildings and charming abodes, extremely fine and pleasant, all painted and sculptured, are embellished with the works of the skillful masters. The green smiling gardens are made eye-captivating with various kinds of flowers and sweet-scented plants.

From head to foot wherever I see, blandishment captivates the heart saying 'this is the for placerest'".\*

The account given by Jahāngir of the buildings of his palace agrees with the structures contained in the quadrangle ascribed to him as well as to the *Maktab Khanah* which still bears the traces of paintings praised by him.

Shāhjahān on his accession made further extension to the palace which Jahāngir had in view but could not carry out, and the important buildings erected by him have been noticed in his court chronicle, the *Badshah Namah* of Mulla 'Abdul-Hamīd of Lahore.† He indulged in the use of marble and constructed the magnificent edifice which is now known as *Shish Mahal* and includes the *Shah Burj* or *Thaman Burj*, *Nau Lakha* pavilion, etc. at the north-west corner of the fort on the foundations which had been laid during the reign of Jahāngir. He also built the marble pavilion known as *Diwan-i-Khas* and the western gate of the fort called *Haatia Pol* or the Elephant Gate, embellishing its outer wall with tiles. The gate bears his inscription which runs as follows:—

شاه جم جہ سلمیان قدر کیوان بار دہ  
 کز سہمرو مہر برتر بردہ رایات جلال  
 ثانی صاحب قراں شاہ جمہاں کز عدل وجود  
 نیستش نوشیرواں مانند وافریدون ہمال  
 شاہ برجی حکم کرد احداث کز فرط علو  
 دست بیرون ہنچو عرش اعظم از وہم و خیال  
 در صفا و رفعت و لطیف و ہوا برجی چنین  
 از حصار چرخ نمود است و نہاید جمال  
 بندہ یکدل مرید معتقد عبدالکریم  
 بعد اتمام عمارت یافت این تاریخ سال  
 دایما چون دولت این بادشاہ جم سپاہ ۱۰۴۱  
 این ہمایوں برج عالی باد از آفت بے زوال

#### Translation

(1) "The King, a Jamshed in dignity, a Solomon in grandeur, Saturn in State, who carried the banners of his glory beyond the sky and the sun.

\* *Tuzuk-i-Jahangiri*, edited by Sayyid Ahmad, p. 318.

† Calcutta ed. Vol. I, pp. 223-5.

(2) The second *Sahibqiran*, Shāhjahān, to whom Nausherwan is equal, nor Afridun a peer,

(3) Ordered the erection of *Shah Burj*, which in its immense height beyond imagination and conception like the Divine Throne,

(4) In purity, height, elegance and airiness such a tower has never appeared from the castle of the sky nor will (in future),

(5) The sincere servant and faithful disciple 'Abd-ul-Karim after completion of the building composed this chronogram.

(6) For ever like the sovereignty of this King, a Jamshed in arm may this auspicious lofty tower remain safe from calamity. (1041 Hijri, the 4th year of accession).

(NOTE: calculated according to *Abjad* system the numerical value of the chronogram gives the year 1041 which is noted in figures).

Moreover Shāhjahān repaired the buildings of his predecessors and made additions and alterations to them. Notable among these was the construction of the *Diwan-i-'Am Hall* which he built with red sandstone. The court chronicler Mulla 'Abd-ul-Hamid of Lahore writes that during the reign of the Emperors Akbar and Jahāngīr there had been no building in front of the *Jharokah* of the *Daulat Khana-i-Khas-o-'Am* to protect the courtiers, who were favoured with the royal audience, from rain and sunshine, and an awning was erected for the purpose. 'Shāhjahān in the first year of his reign issued orders for the construction of a hall in front of the *Jharokah*.\*

Aurangzeb was the last of the Mughul Emperors who made contributions to the buildings of the fort. He constructed the western gate opposite the *Jam' Masjid*, better known as the *Badshahi Masjid*, which was also built by him. It is not improbable that the idea of its construction was conceived by him after the erection of the mosque. This idea receives support from the position of the gate, which is in alignment with the mosque and has its orientation disagreeing with that of the fort and the buildings contained in it.

During the Sikh rule in the Punjab the fort was occupied by Ranjit Singh and his successors who made incongruous additions to its buildings. In the year 1849 the sovereignty of the Punjab was assumed by the British Government and the fort was utilized for military occupation. During this period, the buildings which had remained immune from the vandalism of the Sikhs were subjected to rough and ruthless treatment of the

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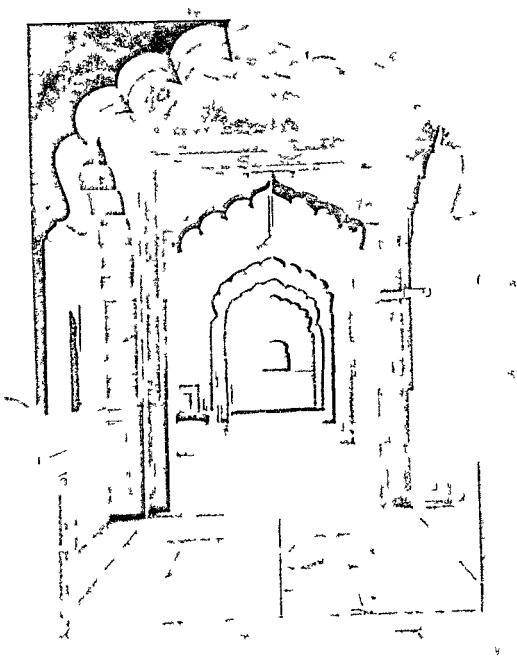


PLATE IV Moti Masjid Lahore Fort Prayer Chamber Interior View

Military Department. They were either so changed as to serve their purpose or were demolished for the so-called military reasons. Mention may also be made in this connection of the demolition of the whole length of the south wall and the erection of flights of steps in its place to give access into the fort. This was, however, done to demilitarize it when it was relieved of the military occupation in the year 1927.

The *Moti Masjid* lies at the back of and adjacent to the *Maktab Khanah*. The two buildings form a composite block of structure, but they disagree in orientation, which in the case of the *Maktab Khanah* has been determined by the cloister of the *Diwan-i-'Am* and deviates from the direction of the *qiblah* that determines the orientation of the mosque (see plan of the Mosque, plate II). Consequently the adjustment of the position of the *Moti Masjid* to the direction of the *qiblah* has resulted in the insertion of some subsidiary compartments of irregular shapes on the north and east of the courtyard. The mosque stands on a raised plinth 6' 9" high, and is reached by a flight of eleven steps through an unpretentious portico at its north-east corner. It contains an open courtyard, which measures 55'.9" by 32'.2" and is paved with marble slabs. It is enclosed on the west by the prayer chamber, on the north and east by the compartments of the irregular shapes noted above and on the south by a wall. The prayer chamber stands on a plinth 1'.2" high and is marked by a carved decorative string-course which runs round the whole courtyard. Measuring 54'.10" by 25'.6", the prayer chamber consists of two aisles, each of which is broken by five cusped archways and is divided into five compartments by similar arched openings (see plate III). It may be noted that in the range of five cusped arches piercing the facade the central one, which is bigger, is framed within a plain arch. Three compartments of the front aisle, *viz.*, the central one and those at its extreme ends are covered by domes, while the remaining compartments of both the aisles have arched roofs. The central compartment of the rear aisle, contains a *mihrab* deeply recessed in the back wall within the outlines of a cusped arch, and adjacent to it on the north stands a *mimbar* (pulpit) of marble. In each of the other compartments of that aisle the *mihrab* is indicated by only the outlines of a cusped arch, which however contains a niche 3' by 2'.8" at a height of 3'.10" from the floor level (see plate IV) ; and this feature is repeated in the side walls of both the aisles. The floor which is paved with marble slabs bears *musallah* designs inlaid with black marble, while the dado is defined by the inlay of black and yellow marble lines which continuing run round the courtyard as well

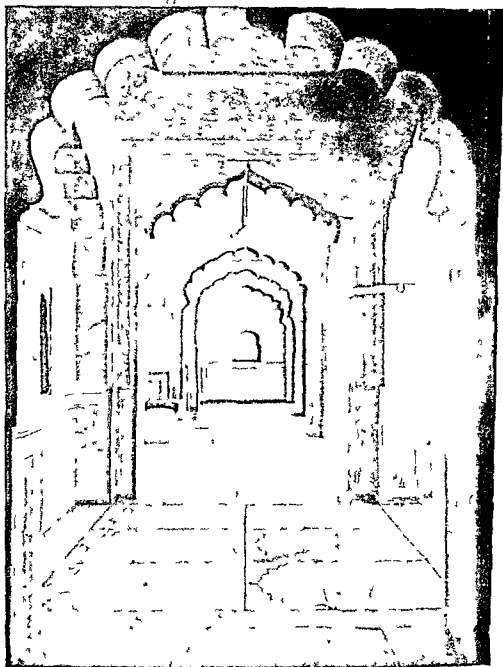


PLATE IV : Moti Masjid, Lahore Fort, Prayer Chamber, Interior View.



Military Department. They were either so changed as to serve their purpose or were demolished for the so-called military reasons. Mention may also be made in this connection of the demolition of the whole length of the south wall and the erection of flights of steps in its place to give access into the fort. This was, however, done to demilitarize it when it was relieved of the military occupation in the year 1927.

The *Moti Masjid* lies at the back of and adjacent to the *Maktab Khanah*. The two buildings form a composite block of structure, but they disagree in orientation, which in the case of the *Maktab Khanah* has been determined by the cloister of the *Diwan-i-'Am* and deviates from the direction of the *qiblah* that determines the orientation of the mosque (see plan of the Mosque, plate II). Consequently the adjustment of the position of the *Moti Masjid* to the direction of the *qiblah* has resulted in the insertion of some subsidiary compartments of irregular shapes on the north and east of the courtyard. The mosque stands on a raised plinth 6' 9" high, and is reached by a flight of eleven steps through an unpretentious portico at its north-east corner. It contains an open courtyard, which measures 55'.9" by 32'.2" and is paved with marble slabs. It is enclosed on the west by the prayer chamber, on the north and east by the compartments of the irregular shapes noted above and on the south by a wall. The prayer chamber stands on a plinth 1'.2" high and is marked by a carved decorative string-course which runs round the whole courtyard. Measuring 54'.10" by 25'.6", the prayer chamber consists of two aisles, each of which is broken by five cusped archways and is divided into five compartments by similar arched openings (see plate III). It may be noted that in the range of five cusped arches piercing the facade the central one, which is bigger, is framed within a plain arch. Three compartments of the front aisle, *viz.*, the central one and those at its extreme ends are covered by domes, while the remaining compartments of both the aisles have arched roofs. The central compartment of the rear aisle, contains a *mihrab* deeply recessed in the back wall within the outlines of a cusped arch, and adjacent to it on the north stands a *mimbar* (pulpit) of marble. In each of the other compartments of that aisle the *mihrab* is indicated by only the outlines of a cusped arch, which however contains a niche 3' by 2'.8" at a height of 3'.10" from the floor level (see plate IV) ; and this feature is repeated in the side walls of both the aisles. The floor which is paved with marble slabs bears *musallah* designs inlaid with black marble, while the dado is defined by the inlay of black and yellow marble lines which continuing run round the courtyard as well

as in the eastern compartment. Unlike the general treatment of the building with marble, the three compartments to the north of the courtyard have their interior, the walls and the ceilings, coated with white plaster, and their floors paved with bricks on edge. On the east there is only one compartment of irregular shape with three arched openings, of which the central one is plain and the remaining two are cusped (see plate V). The arrangement, noticed here as well as in the facade of the prayer chamber, that a plain arch occupies the central and prominent position in a range of cusped arches is peculiar and novel, not found repeated in any other Mughul building. Probably this was done by way of trial which could not receive appreciation and was therefore abandoned. The eastern compartment is paved with marble and is flanked on either side by a rectangular doorway set within the outlines of cusped-arch. The doorway to the north communicates to the portico, while that to the south is an entrance to the staircase, ascending at the back of the eastern compartment to the roof. The wall on the south, which is faced with marble, bears the outlines of three cusped arches corresponding to the similar arches which enclose the door openings of the northern compartments. It may be stated that except the interior of the northern compartments mentioned above, the whole of the building is internally faced with marble, but it is sparingly ornamented, save the parapet, which bears *pietra dura* decoration (see plate VI). This form of decoration which consists in inlay of semi-precious stones in marble and marks the distinctive feature of decorative art in Mughul architecture was introduced during Jahāngir's reign. It is generally believed to have made its first appearance in the profusely ornamented tomb of I'tamād-ud-daulah, constructed after his death in 1030 A. H. (1621 A. D.)\*. This view is however categorically contradicted by the presence of *pietra dura* work on *Moti Masjid* in the Lahore Fort which was built several years earlier and therefore lays claim to presenting the earliest specimen of the new art.

The domes, which are bulbous and double, are veneered with marble and have lotus crestings, which seem to have been crowned by metallic finials now disappeared (see plate VII). The central dome, which is bigger in size, stands on a raised *Chabutra* or platform, 18'.4" by 17'.7" and 1'.8" high which springs from a circular drum 4 feet high and is ornamented with a band of moulding. The other two domes do not have such

\**Cambridge History of India*, IV, p. 553.



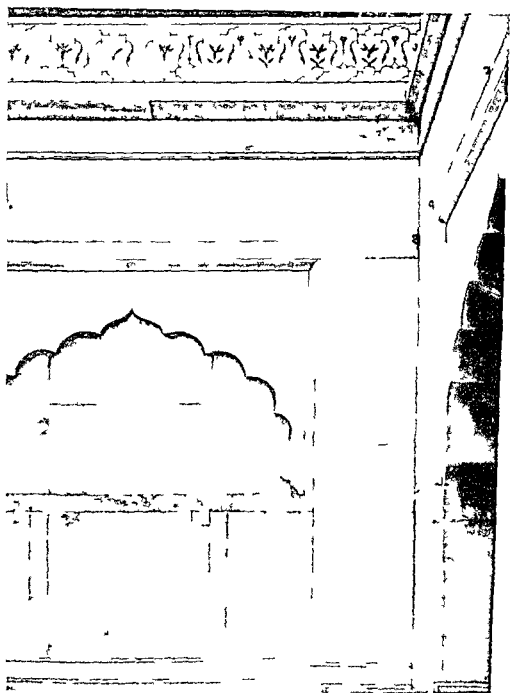


PLATE VI Moti Masjid Lahore Fort showing Ictra Dura work on Iarappet

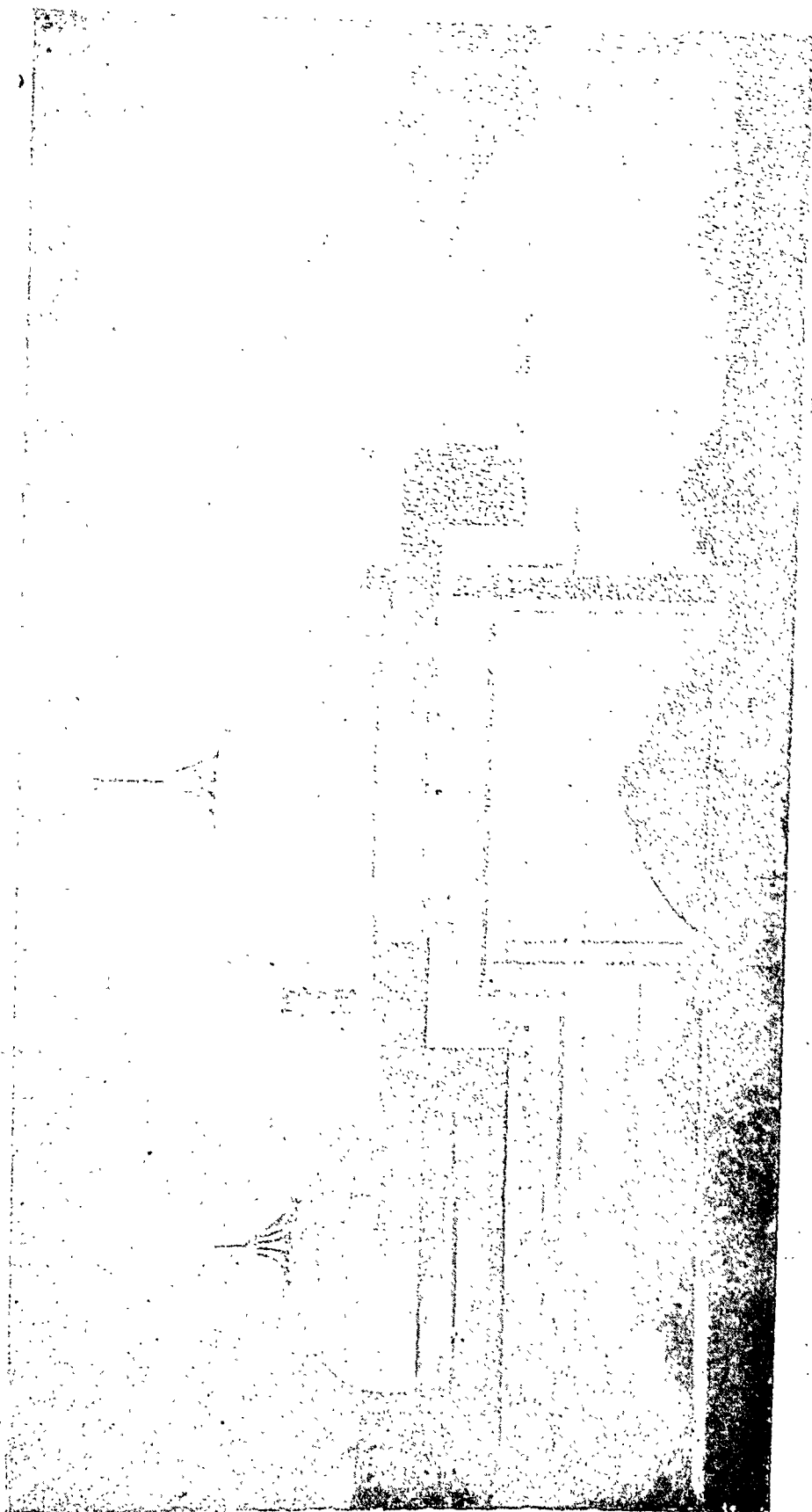


PLATE VII : Moli Masjid, Lakshmi Narayan Temple, D.

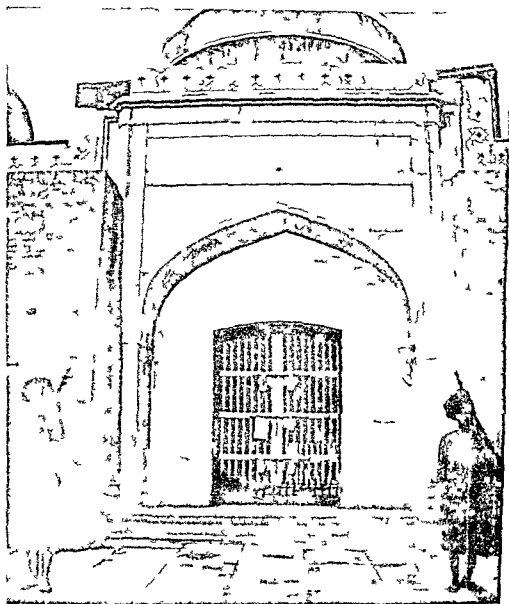


PLATE VIII Moti Masjid Lahor Fort showing its desecration during the Sikh Rule

MOTI MA e drum of each of them similarly ornamented is only *chabutrahs* and th 3'.3" high. ne consists of two shells,—outer and inner—with a void or A double dome between them. Since there was a tendency to raise the height hollow space, bet order to make it look more prominent and imposing, its of the dome in c is disproportionately high for the size of the chamber it cover- ceiling became c his the expedient of separating the outer and inner shells ed. To avoid t his invention made it possible to elevate the outer shell was devised. ed without disturbing the proportion of the interior, which as high as desir ained with the inner shell. Hence it is that the double could be maint y drum which is invariably pierced with an opening to dome has a lof to the vacuity between its two shells. Until the advent of allow access in e device of double shell in dome building was not introduced Mughul rule th a part of the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent where it made its in the norther e in Humāyūn's tomb which was constructed by the Emperor first appearanc i in 973 A.H. (1565 A.D.). The dome of Humāyūn's tomb Akbar at Dell ous and double having two shells one over the other springs which is bulb y drum, pierced originally by an opening to give access from a very lo space between the two shells. The opening which was at a into the wide height near the upper end of the drum has now been built considerable not possible to examine the external contour of the lower up and it is rmine its height in relation with the upper one. No other dome to dete ructured during Akbar's reign is known to have a double dome. building con ver in the reign of Jahāngīr that this architectural device in It was howe ng was freely brought into use, and there are not less than dome-buildi ures of this period in Lahore which are crowned by double three struct (a) *Begum Shahi Masjid* built by Maryam Zamānī Begum, the domes, viz., hāngīr in 1023 A.H. (1614-A.D.), (b) *Tomb of Anarkali* erect- the year 1024-A.H. (1615-A.D.), and (c) *Pearl Mosque* under mother of J ructed about the year 1027 A.H. (1618 A.D.) The central ed about t *Begum Shahi Masjid* and that of Anarkali's tomb have open- notice cons ir drums allowing entrance into the vacuity between their dome of the lower shells, and the examination of the lower shells indicates ings in the tages of the device which was brought to perfection in the upper and reign of Shāhjahān as noticed in the *Taj Mahal* at Agra. As the early s domes of the *Moti Masjid* they are smaller in size and repre- succeeding pecimens of such copulas built in Jahāngīr's time. regards the

The mosque was desecrated by the Sikhs, who utilized it as a treasury and this sacrilegious use of it was continued during the British occupation of the fort. To adapt the building to this purpose the central archway of the mosque has been fitted with an iron grated door and the remaining four archways had been bricked up. The marble floor of the courtyard had been excavated to construct a cellar, while a shed had been erected against the south wall for the accommodation of the guard, (see plate VIII). On the roof a wooden sentry box had been set up between the domes. The deplorable condition to which this noble mosque was reduced may be gathered from a speech delivered by Lord Curzon before the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in February, 1900 : "When I was in Lahore in April last, I found the exquisite little *Moti Masjid*, or Pearl Mosque, in the fort, which was erected by Jahāngīr exactly three hundred years ago, still used for the profane purpose to which it had been converted by Ranjit Singh, viz., as a Government Treasury. The arches were built up with brick-work, and, below, the marble floor had been excavated as a cellar for the reception of iron bound chests of rupees: I pleaded for the restoration to its original state of this beautiful building, which I suppose not one visitor in a hundred to Lahore has ever seen. Ranjit Singh cared nothing for the taste or the trophies of his Muhammadan predecessors, and half a century of British occupation with its universal paint-pot, and the exigencies of the Public Works Engineers, has assisted the melancholy decline. Fortunately in recent years something has been done to recover the main building of the Moghal palace from these two insatiable enemies". Under the orders of Lord Curzon the unsightly excrescences were removed and the *Moti Masjid* was restored to its original condition.

Unfortunately only a limited number of remarkable monuments of Muslim period have fallen to the share of Pakistan, but it is a matter of gratification that they supply ample material for research into the evolution and development of Indo-Islamic architecture.



# VILLAGE ECONOMY IN THE INDO-PAKISTAN SUB-CONTINENT IN THE MIDDLE AGES

by

HON'BLE DR. I. H. QURESHI

The village in India in the ancient days was to a great extent a self-sufficient unit; besides, it was self-governed. There is evidence in the ancient Hindu literature dating back to the *Vedas* and the *Jatakas* of the existence of self-government in Indian villages.<sup>1</sup> Writing in the 18th century Sir Thomas Monroe compares the village to a little State and bears witness to the efficiency of its organisation<sup>2</sup>. Sir Charles Metcalfe says, "The village communities are little republics having nearly everything they can want within themselves and almost independent of any foreign relations.....This union of the village communities, each one forming a little State in itself, is, in a high degree, conducive to their happiness and the enjoyment of a great portion of freedom and independence."<sup>3</sup>

The Muslim chronicles contain ample evidence to the effect that these communities thrived and were left unmolested by the rulers except when they rebelled or withheld revenue. In the beginning of Muslim rule there was great temptation for the villages lying in remote and inaccessible areas to combine in rebellion, withholding revenue and waylaying travellers. Sometimes these risings assumed considerable proportions; but soon the villages learnt to make peace with their rulers and to reap the benefits of settled government—which brought them prosperity. The Sultans pursued a policy of firmness combined with conciliation. A peaceful village was left alone, its assessment was lenient; a refractory village was punished severely. The temptation to rebel, however, returned with any weakening of the central authority, when the revenue could be withheld and travellers waylaid with impunity. With the revival of central authority the villages mostly submitted. They also knew to rebel whenever they thought that the State was adopting unjust measures; for instance, when Muhammad bin Tughluq increased the land revenue in the Doab, it resulted in a general

<sup>1</sup> Mookerji: *Local Government in Ancient India*, pages 146 to 178.

<sup>2</sup> Quoted by Tufail Ahmad. page 30.

<sup>3</sup> *Rep. Select Committee of House of Commons*, 1832, Vol. III, App. 84, page 331.

rebellion and a complete dislocation of administration in that area. The village communities, however, do not seem to have been devoid of some sense of responsibility. For instance, there was no rebellion in the Doāb when 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī increased the State demand on agricultural produce. This increase was justified in their view because of the need to stop Mongol inroads.

These self-governing village communities were to a great extent economically self-sufficient. The bulk of the population was engaged in agriculture because even at that time India was essentially an agricultural country. The community had a number of craftsmen and workers. For instance, a village would generally have its priest, its carpenter, its blacksmith, its potter, its barber, its washerman, its sweeper. These workers were paid mostly at the time of the harvest, being awarded a portion of the agricultural produce. Some of this, the workers, like the peasants themselves, bartered for manufactured goods or services. Thus, economically speaking, the village was "a self-sufficient unit with an organically well-developed economic structure." The professions were hereditary having been ordained by the Caste System which had by now, developed a strict rigidity.

The village was self-sufficient, but the economic isolation of the village has been exaggerated by some historians. It is true that if a village were completely cut away from the rest of the world, it could carry on its life with some sacrifice and discomfort. Even in the 13th and 14th centuries the village depended for luxuries on the towns and for certain commodities on foreign supply. "The *Khuts* and the *Muqaddams*", said 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khaljī to Qādī Mughīth "ride beautiful horses, wear elegant dresses, use Persian bows,"<sup>1</sup> We should remember that the best horses were imported, so were the Persian bows. The elegant dresses in all probability came from the neighbouring towns. The villages carried on trade with the outside world. They sold the surplus agricultural produce to the towns and received in return manufactured articles. The wealth of the village trader excited jealousy.<sup>2</sup> J. N. Das Gupta writing of Bengal in the 16th century quotes an old Bengali poet who accused the traders of depriving the people of their wealth through their commerce. The volume of this commerce was greater in those villages which were situated near a town or on the land or water highways.

<sup>1</sup> Barani, page 291.

<sup>2</sup> *I'jaz-i-Khusrawī*, III, 49.

The villages also had their own industries. In that age cottage and small scale industry could thrive. A number of articles were manufactured for domestic purposes. Some of them were exported. Generations had experimented and evolved simple but efficient methods of manufacturing many articles of utilitarian value, some even of great beauty and exquisiteness. The output of cottage industries on the individual level was meagre but the total quantities produced were considerable. The artisans were afforded protection by a rigid caste organisation which served the purpose of guilds; they could use their organisation quite effectively against oppression; competition from outsiders was not possible. The system proved so effective that Muslim craftsmen—some of foreign origin—adopted the institutions of *Biradaries* and *Panchayats*. Economic forces had worked for centuries to produce through these guilds and castes a balance in the industrial organisation, its output and the demand for its produce. It is true that the law of demand and supply controlled production; but in the Middle Ages the markets were mostly steady and were not so sensitive to fluctuations as they are in the highly organised industrial world of today. The market was effected by catastrophies of large famines or political revolutions. The famines were more intense than they are today because of the slow means of communication, but they were not so widespread. For instance, the population of Delhi found shelter near the frontier of Awadh in the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq. A political revolution generally left the villages alone and if any destruction was wrought by war, revival was easier because of the simplicity of the implements and the materials used. It should be remembered that forests existed in close proximity to villages and some of their products helped man and beast to tide over the periods of great difficulty. There was wild fruit in abundance and, when that also failed, the population had to face great hardship. There are references to men living upon roots and leaves of trees. Such extreme conditions, however, rarely prevailed and, in any case, the next monsoon would bring relief. However, whenever the administration was sound, the State came to the rescue with measures of famine relief before distress was acute or widespread.

The mainstay of the population and the most important industry was agriculture. The condition of the peasant determined the economic well-being of the village. The peasant's prosperity depended upon the following factors:—

(1) *The proportion of the State demand to the agricultural produce.* I have discussed this problem more fully elsewhere but I would recapitulate.

my conclusions as follows:—

From the beginning of Muslim rule to the beginning of 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khālji's reign the State charged a fifth of the gross produce. 'Alā-u'd-dīn Khālji raised it to a half. Under Ghiyāth-u'd-dīn Tughluq it was again restored to a fifth. Later on it was raised to a fourth. Akbar raised it to a third. It should, however, be mentioned that these ratios were not uniform and there were areas where the proportion differed. It should be emphasized that the State demand was on produce. Any area that was not cultivated was excluded. Similarly, any area where crops had failed completely was also excluded. Where there had been partial failure, the State demand was reduced. It should also be remembered that the effect of the ratio of the State demand would depend upon the surplus left with the peasant after the deduction of (1) cost of production, (2) food and (3) State demand. The value of this surplus would fluctuate with the difference in the level of the prices of agricultural produce and those of other commodities. The higher the level of the price of agricultural produce *vis-a-vis* other necessities of life, the less surplus would the peasant require. This surplus would also tend to increase with the increase of the size of the holding. The existence of the latter tendency is supported by the policy of the State on record. So far as the level of the prices of various commodities is concerned it should be remembered that a large number of articles of daily use were available to the peasant on the payment of a fixed quantity of agricultural produce to the workers or the producers of the other commodities at the time of the harvest. We shall soon examine the question of the manufacture of some of these articles in the villages. The articles which were so produced would be available to the villagers at reasonable rates.

The size of the holding would be an important factor. It should be remembered that in the Middle Ages, the population of the entire sub-continent has been estimated at about a hundred million. A large number of persons were engaged in other pursuits. At that time this sub-continent exported large quantities of manufactured goods and was self-sufficient in many other commodities. The entire area served by the Indian Ocean depended for cloth upon this area. In those times, a much larger number of people were employed in producing the same quantity as can be produced by a smaller number with the help of modern machinery. Therefore, the pressure upon land was much smaller and naturally the holdings were bigger. There was plenty of land which could

be brought under cultivation. Every encouragement was given by the State to do so. The following measures were adopted :—

- (i) The State charged less revenue from newly cultivated areas ;
- (ii) The State advanced loans for procuring new implements and live-stock and for digging wells ;
- (iii) The State built canals, tanks and other irrigation works.

The State was directly interested because increased production meant not only an increase in general prosperity but also added revenue for the State. Prosperous peasants were less inclined to be refractory. The geographical characteristics of the sub-continent in those ages were far different from those existing today. One great feature was the existence of large forests which added to the difficulties of administration and the maintenance of law and order as they provided ready shelter to rebels and robbers alike. Increased holdings resulted in the clearance of forests and, therefore, were encouraged by the State.

The economic condition of the peasant would also depend upon the general attitude of the State. All available evidence shows that the Muslims followed an enlightened policy of benevolence towards the peasants. Throughout the contemporary literature one sentiment is repeated again and again, which is that the cultivator should be cherished as the source of all prosperity. This sentiment was translated into practice, the State always endeavoured to protect the peasant from the tyranny of the local chief as well as the exactions of petty officials. The system of *Zamindari* as such did not exist. A department for the improvement of agriculture, called *Amir Kohi*, was maintained in several reigns, which aimed at improving the quality of the produce and bringing larger areas under cultivation. The State also helped the peasant by advancing loans, by making deductions in the State demand as encouragement to bring new areas under cultivation or for giving relief from the effects of bad crops. The armies were directed not to touch the property of the peasants and particularly to keep away from the crops and pay damages for any unavoidable losses.

The prosperity of the villager would also depend upon the availability of subsidiary sources of income. The neighbourhood of forests enabled the peasant to get free fuel, timber, honey, part of fodder, cheaper and wilder varieties of fruit, certain gums and flowers and herbs of commercial or medicinal value. It should be borne in mind that a large number of flowers were used as dyes. The open spaces and village were used as pasture lands which

numerous cattle per head in the villages. The contemporary records give the impression that there were large herds of domestic cattle

Among the cottage industries the place of honour should be given to spinning and weaving. Almost every village was self-sufficient in all but the more luxurious kinds of cloth. Next in importance came the manufacture of *gur*. In many a village *gur* was refined into sugar. Candied fruits, sweets, sweet dishes and sugared drinks are mentioned frequently in literature and were found in the villages as well. Oil was pressed both for cooking and for lighting. Leather work, particularly the shoemaker's trade, was a common feature. The villagers in the Middle Ages were fully armed and they carried swords, bows and arrows and other arms, most of which were made locally. Blacksmiths were common, they made not only agricultural implements but also arms and such common articles of utility as locks, keys, razors and knives. Goldsmiths and silversmiths provided the jewellery of which women were extremely fond and which was common even in the smallest hamlets. Small industries like making ropes, baskets, leather bags, earthen vessels were also common. All these minor trades provided profitable occupation to the villager. This gives a picture of comparative prosperity which is borne out not only by contemporary records but also by the survival of customs which lead to extravagance and bankruptcy today, but which must have originated in much greater prosperity

# MIRZA DHULQARNAIN, A CHRISTIAN POET AND MUSICIAN OF THE MUGHUL COURT

BY

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Among the poets and musicians of the courts of Jahangir and Shāh-jahan the name of Mirza 'Dhulqarnain' occupies a prominent position. It is indeed very strange that Faqirullah who devotes a full chapter in his *Rag Darpan*<sup>2</sup> to the musicians of the court of Shahjahan<sup>3</sup> does not say a word about Mirza Dhulqarnain.<sup>4</sup> But we have fortunately a vast mass of evidence, indigenous and foreign, to piece together a complete life-sketch of the Mirzā.

Mirza Dhulqarnain, so named by Akbar<sup>5</sup>, was according to Jahangir,<sup>6</sup> the son of an Aleppo merchant, one of the many Armenians who came to India to trade. His name was Hakub or Ya'qub also known as Sikandar in Akbar's court. He was taken in Akbar's service on account of his familiarity with many languages including Portuguese. His first wife Juliana<sup>7</sup> was a daughter of Mirza 'Abdul Hai, an officer of Akbar's *harem*, in Agra. She having died in 1598, Akar suggested that he should marry his deceased wife's sister.<sup>8</sup> The Jesuit Fathers at the Emperor's court objected to such an incestuous marriage, whereupon, the Emperor had it solemnized without their consent. Then Ya'qub according to Father Fr. Xavier<sup>9</sup>, became a member of the *Din-i-Ilahi*.

After his first wife's death, his two sons Mirza Dhulqarnain and Mirza Iskandar were taken by the Emperor Akbar into his *harem* and brought up very affectionately with his grandsons, till the age of 12 years, when

<sup>1</sup> With two horns, a title of Alexander the Great.

<sup>2</sup> Muslim University, Aligarh, Ms.

<sup>3</sup> Vide *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad Deccan, Oct. 1945; Article on "Music and Musicians of the Court of Shahjahan" by the writer.

<sup>4</sup> He merely excuses himself by saying that, "Since so many *Kalaw ants* had the fortune to serve His Majesty, details of them would lengthen the narrative."

<sup>5</sup> *Memoirs*, A. S. B., Cal. Vol. V. 1916, p. 132.

<sup>6</sup> *Tuzuk*, Beveridge, p. 194.

<sup>7</sup> *Memoirs*, A. S. B., Cal. V. 132.

<sup>8</sup> Niece acc. to Fr. Xavier du Jarric and others; sister acc. to MacLagan.

<sup>9</sup> Payne, *Akbar and the Jesuits*.

<sup>10</sup> Jelena acc. to Fr. Botelho.

they were permitted to join their father then holding the post of Superintendent of Government Salt works at Sambhar. Soon after Jahangir's accession to the throne (1605), Mirza Iskandar came to Agra to offer his loyalty to the new Emperor and submit his accounts to the *Diwan*. On this occasion an attempt was made, according to Jesuit accounts,<sup>12</sup> to convert Mirza Iskandar to Islam, but he stood firm by his Christian faith. To atone for, as he himself said, "the sins I have committed and the scandals I have occasioned." Taking advantage of Jahangir's march to the Punjab to punish Khusrav, his rebel son, Mirza Sikandar took away his sons to Sambhar. After the suppression of this rebellion, Jahangir held court at Lahore and enquired of the sons of the Mirza. They (Dhulqarnain and Sikandar aged 14 and 11 years respectively), were brought before him and kindly treated. Coming to know that they professed Christianity, Jahangir forced them utter the *Kalimah* and next day had them circumcised. On their declaring that they were still Christians, being encouraged to do so by the Jesuit Fathers, they were beaten but at last the Emperor appreciated their tenacity, by saying "it is a shame not to remain in one's faith." After this he resumed friendly attitude towards the boys, their father and other Christians.<sup>13</sup> In 1613 A. D. when Mirza Dhulqarnain was 20 years old, his father (Mirza Sikandar) died, leaving a big fortune, out of which rupees twenty thousand were distributed in charity to the Christians of Agra, Lahore, Goa and Jerusalem. Mirza Dhulqarnain appears to have received from Jahangir his father's post of Superintendent of the Salt works in Sambhar, for it was in all probability, the same Mirza, described as, "a generous Christian of the Armenian race," whom Thomas Coryat met after going two day's journey from Ajmer to which latter place he had gone to meet Jahangir in 1616. He gave the traveller a purse of 20 silver rupees.<sup>14</sup>

In 1629 A. D. during the 15th regnal year he was made *Faujdar* of Sambhar. This is more clearly explained by Jahangir when he writes "during my reign, the chief *diwan* had entrusted the charge of the Government Salt works at Sombhar, a duty which he (Dhulqarnain) performed

<sup>11</sup> In Jodhpur state, Rajputana.

<sup>12</sup> Payne, *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, Chapter II, P. 16; Fr. Hosten, *Memoirs*, A.S.B., Cal. 1916, Vol. V.

<sup>13</sup> Payne, *Jahangir and the Jesuits*, p. 23.

<sup>14</sup> At a time of extraordinary cheapness when the traveller had spent on an average only two penny sterlings a day ever since his arrival at Aleppo. Foster, *early Travels*, p. 267.



efficiently.”<sup>15</sup> He was now (15th Regnal Year, 1619) appointed to the faujdarship of that region”. Even at that time he was well-known for his piety and generosity. He maintained 200 poor Christians at his Sambhar establishment and kept two Jesuit fathers as his confessors. After 1614, when the imperial subsidies to the Jesuits were stopped following the seizure of a Mughul ship by the Portuguese, the Mirzā kept on paying two hundred rupees per month from his funds for the Jesuit establishment of Agra till the total amounted to forty-seven thousand rupees. For this latter service his name was accepted by the Society at Rome as a founder of the Collegium Inchoatum of Agra. In Shāhjahān’s reign, during 1627-32, he was in charge of a district in Bengal. He is also reported to have ransomed many Christian prisoners taken after the fall of Hughli<sup>16</sup> held by the Portuguese. He is also noticed as holding the charge of Bahraich. He shared the plight of the Christians when their churches in Agra and Lahore were closed in 1633. Two of his half-brothers turned Muslims. The Mirzā was dismissed from his *mansab* of 500 *zat* and 300 *sawar*,<sup>17</sup> was made to pay 8 lacs of rupees and was reduced to penury. Soon after, in 1636, he was restored to favour and sent as governor to Aurangabad in the Deccan.<sup>18</sup> In 1642, he sought the Emperor’s permission to join the entourage of Shāh Shujā’ in Bengal leaving his Sambhar *Jagir* in charge of Jānibeg, his uncle, and his two sons (Mirzā Observam and Iris) and a daughter, the last aged 14 years, in the care of a nurse at Agra. He returned to Agra in 1648 after Shāhjahān had constructed his new capital at Delhi. He was given a reward of 4000 rupees for a beautiful composition in Shāhjahān’s name. In 1648, he was made the governor of Lahore. The Catholic Cemetery in Lahore was built mainly with his money. In 1649, the Mirzā was again placed in charge of the faujdarship of Sambhar on condition of paying six lacs of rupees to the royal treasury. After two years (1651), he requested for his recall to court. This was done. A salary of rupees one hundred *per diem* was fixed for him and rupees seven and five respectively for his two sons.<sup>19</sup> He is noticed as living till 1652.<sup>20</sup> R. B. Saxena says he lived upto 1656. Mirzā Dāniāl was his only child who survived him. He became a Muslim and allowed circumcision, but

<sup>15</sup> *Tuzuk*, Beveridge, II, 194.

<sup>16</sup> Total number of prisoners only 400 acc. to Fr. Manrique.

<sup>17</sup> ‘Abdul Hamid Lahori. *Badshahnamah* I, 748.

<sup>18</sup> Letter of John Drake, President, E.I. Co., Surat; Cf. *Memoirs*, A.S.B., Cal. V, p. 145.

<sup>19</sup> *Memoirs*, A. S. B., Cal. V, 161.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Foster, *Early Travel*, 159 f. n. i.

according to Jesuit accounts<sup>21</sup> recanted in old age.

Piety, generosity, devotion to his Catholic faith were the distinctive traits of Mirzā Dhulqarnain's character. It was through his zeal and chairty that Christianity managed to survive many obstacles and set-backs in the Mughul dominions. He may be regarded as the founder of the Agra College. He is praised sky-high by the Jesuit Fathers. Fr. Botelho characterises him as "a Numa in peace and Alexander in War.....a pattern of gentleness and a champion of religion"<sup>22</sup>

According to Muslim historians including Jahāngir, Mirzā Dhulqarnain was greatly skilled in Hindī poetry and India music. The Jesuit Fathers pay a high tribute to his aptitudes and talents in these directions. He was poet of repute in the Hindustani tongue. He was a singer who set to music many songs which he had composed for the King. On one occasion when Shāhjahān returned from Lahore, the Mirzā composed and sang a *Dhrupad* at Prince Dārā's request,<sup>23</sup> which fetched him a big reward. He trained royal musicians to sing his own compositions.<sup>24</sup> Jahāngir pays tribute to his talents by remarking, "He is very accomplished in Indian music. His taste in this art was faultless; his compositions were frequently brought to my notice and approved."<sup>25</sup> Both 'Abdul Hamid Lahori<sup>26</sup> and Muhammad Swālih Kambōh<sup>27</sup> testify to his rare knowledge in Hindustani music. He is also mentioned in the *Ragmala* and the *Mirat-i-Afshar-nama* of Shāhawaz Khān. It is also recorded in the Jesuit writings that whenever a musician was able to catch up the correct tunes of his composition he would reward them, —once with a horse and on another occasion, with an elephant.<sup>28</sup>

We do not possess any extract from his compositions. Neither is there at the present time any song bearing his name as composer, as we have of Tansen, Nāyak Baijū, Muhammad Shah Rangilā, Sadarang, Har-Rang and others. Neither can we say anything about his style of

<sup>21</sup> *Memoris*, A. S. B., Cal. V, 165

<sup>22</sup> *Memoris*, A. S. B., V, 166.

<sup>23</sup> A type of musical composition of a devotional character having strict conventional rules, regarding the theme, timing instruments and scales, and method of singing in which reference to carnal love is banned.

<sup>24</sup> *Memoris*, A. S. B., Cal. V, 161

”در نغمه هندی سری دارد،“

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<sup>26</sup> *Badshahnamah*, I. Bib Ind, 448

<sup>27</sup> 'Amal-i Swālih I.

<sup>28</sup> *Memoris*, V, 161.

singing, because in his times the system of taking notation had not come into existence. All that we can say with certainty is that he was a musician of the *Dhrupad* School. The Age of *Khiyal* had not come till the time of Muhammad Shāh Rangilā, but a beginning had already been made of the *Khiyal* Style as early as Shājahān's reign. Faqirullah (*Rag-Darpan*) mentions only two *Khiyalists*, namely, Raja Idsing Bor, and Raja Rāmshāh of Gwalior. The Mirzā was not one of them.

The life history of Mirzā Dhulqarnain illustrates two cardinal facts. The first is the recognition of worth and merit irrespective of man's profession of faith by the Mughul rulers. The second thing is this that in the cultural heritage bequeathed to us, the contributions came as much from Muslims as from non-Muslims—Hindus, Christians, Parsis, Buddhists and Jains. An idea of the contribution of the Christians in the realm of poetry may be had even from a cursory glance at Ram Babu Saxena's "*European and Indo-European poets of Urdu and persian.*"